CONSPIRACY
FOR
Pretended Reformation:
VIZ.
Presbyterial Diſcipline.
A
TREATISE

Diſcovering the late Deſignments and Courſes held for Advancement thereof, by *William Hacket*, Yeoman, *Edmund Coppinger*, and *Henry Arthington*, Gent. out of Others Depoſitions and Their own Letters, Writings and Confeſſions upon Examination.

Together with ſome part of the Life and Conditions, and the two Indictments, Arraignment, and Execution of the ſaid *Hacket*.

Alſo an Anſwer to the Calumniations of ſuch as affirm they were Mad-men: And a Reſemblance of this Action unto the like, happened heretofore in *Germany*.

Written by *Richard Coſin*, LL. D. Dean of the Arches, and Official Principal to Archbiſhop *Whitgift*.

Finiſhed *Ultimo Septembris*. 1591. And Publiſhed by Authority. 1592.

LONDON:
Reprinted for Ri. Chiſwell, MDCXCIX.

Prov. cap. 30. v. 12.

There is a generation that are pure in their own conceit, and yet are not waſhed from their filthineſs.

2 Tim. cap. 3. v. 5.

Having a ſhew of godlineſs, but have denied the power thereof; turn away therefore from ſuch.

TO THE

READER.

DIVERS have hitherto diverſly reported of this Action, and of the Actors in it, according to their own ſeveral Intelligences attained thereof, and to the Humours they are led by. And albeit the Matter (falling out not many Months ſince) might ſeem to be in freſh remembrance of many; yet ſundry there are which hitherto know not the very particular dangerous Attempts and Outrages, into which theſe men burſt out, and the moſt part (I think) have not heard what was the original cauſe of ſuch their diſcontentment, or the main drift and purpoſe of all their Deſignments, nor of any the ways and means by them uſed, for furthering and atchieving the principal ſcope they ſhot at, nor of any their Counſels and carriage of the Action, nor yet who were

their Complices that were made acquainted with the matter, in ſome general or more ſpecial terms.

By want of knowledge of which things, ſundry perverſe and ſiniſter Conceits and Miſdeemings have ariſen, and are blown abroad amongſt the People, which ſeem meet to be abated, and reformed in them.

For the Papiſt, our common Enemy, in ſome late Writings from beyond the Seas, hath (as I am informed) wreſted theſe mens dealings to another end. And ſundry at home, who would ſeem more moderate than many other of their own Judgment; yet in favour of the Perſons or (which I judge rather) upon liking of their Opinion in matter of Church-Government, have allowed their meanings to have been good, though they miſlike (ſomewhat they ſay) of the manner. Others ſeek to diſguiſe the very Purpoſes of theſe men, as if that which (in truth) was moſt, had been leaſt of all intended by them. There are ſome alſo, purpoſing to extenuate the Fault, and to prevent that ſo juſt a blot may not fall upon the meaneſt Favourer of pretended Reformation, who will needs make them to

have

have been ſtark mad, and ſuch as knew not what they ſaid or did. And there want not certain alſo, who under pretence of pity and commiſeration towards them, are ſaid not to ſpare to mutter abroad, that Matters are made worſe, and of greater conſequence and peril than they be in deed: And that theſe Men, with ſome others, were proſecuted with greater vehemency and ſharpneſs, than the Cauſe it ſelf, or quality of their ſeveral Offences might juſtly miniſter occaſion.

All which untrue Surmiſes and Imputations, what do they elſe but apparently and directly tend unto the injury, depravation and ſlander of the honourable Juſtice of this Realm and State? For aſſertion and clearing whereof from ſuch Calumniations, and to make manifeſt alſo the very truth of theſe matters unto all that are deſirous to be enformed aright in them: It is thought meet that this Treatiſe (for good Conſiderations hitherto ſtayed ſince it was finiſhed) ſhould now at length be publiſhed.

Whereby I make no doubt, but it will appear to any that ſhall be pleaſed to peruſe it with a ſingle eye, how im-

portant theſe Cauſes are to be throughly looked into, for the weight and danger of them; how honourable the Proceedings in them have been for manner; and how exceeding mild and merciful a courſe hath been holden by the State, not only with ſome of the chief Dealers, but alſo with ſundry others notable Concurrents in the Action, who though they be ſufficiently well known, yet hitherto have not been ſo much as called into queſtion; how far ſoever (perhaps) they may ſeem unto ſome (not unwiſe) to have waded therein, or to have entertained intelligence of it, both dangerouſly and undutifully. So far is her Excellent Majeſty, and the whole State, from aggravating mens Offences, yea, and from taking advantage, even when moſt juſt occaſion (ſometimes) is offered.

I pray God this notable rare Clemency may be hereafter anſwered (by thoſe who both in this and other matters ſtand not a little in need of it, how little ſoever they acknowledge it) with that meaſure of dutiful remembrance and thankfulneſs, which it worthily deſerveth at their hands. *Amen.*

R. C.

THE

THE PREFACE.

WHEN in the time of profeſſing the truth of Religion, ſuch as pretend greateſt ſincerity and zeal, do fall into fanatical Fancies and dangerous Attempts; Then ſome do thereupon ſtagger in the Doctrine, and are ſcandalized: Some be quite driven back; And others are carried even with open mouth to ſlander and to reproach the very profeſſion of the Goſpel. The two firſt of which are of the weaker, but the laſt are of the wickeder ſort. For theſe are ſtraightway ready to make compariſons betwixt the Times, and to declaim largely concerning the ſweet and golden quiet, with agreement in Judgment, which they (erroneouſly) conceive to have continually accompanied the Times of Superſtition and Blindneſs.

But though this were univerſally true, which is far otherwiſe; yet both the one ſort and the other, are dangerouſly deceived and tranſported into miſdeeming by want of due conſideration, what is the very well-ſpring and occaſion of ſuch Accidents under the profeſſion of the Goſpel.

For when Sathan, *the deceiving Enemy of Mankind, had in the Times of* Popery, *by insensible, and as it were obscure degrees (under a colour of Religion and Devotion) envenomed once the very Fountains of Doctrine with many pestilent Errors, much Superstition, and gross* Idolatry, *and had almost quite damned up the light of the glorious Gospel; Then was it no marvel, though he here rested his Labours, as being (in some sort) arrived unto the main end of all his drifts and purposes. Insomuch, as this once atchieved, the rest were sufficiently able to go forward of themselves. For upon corruption of Faith and Doctrine, must needs ensue either open corruption of Life and Conversation, or at least Corruption, masked under a vail of Hypocrisy: Because he that walketh in darkness, knoweth not whither he goeth, and a corrupt Tree cannot bring forth good fruit. Therefore after the victory gotten, that he might more deeply deceive, and surely retain, whom he had caught, he thought it requisite (at some seasons) upon these Corruptions, to weave a vail of pretended unity, and as it were to candy and sweeten them over with the lovely shew of peace and agreement: Which nevertheless being without verity, is nothing else but a lewd Conspiracy, and is rather a deadly sleep, wherewith men be overwhelmed, than an unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. For where all is subdued, what needs any further resistance? And where a strong man keeps the House, all that he possesseth are in quiet, till a stronger than he do come to dispossess him.*

But when as God taking compaſſion of his Church in the eyes of his mercy, had in theſe latter times made the day-ſtar to ſhine again in our hearts, no ſooner did the beams of his Goſpel begin to glimpſe and break forth, but the old crafty Serpent (knowing his Kingdom to be invaded afreſh, and his time but ſhort) began in great wrath to rouſe up himſelf again, and to hammer over anew all his long-approved wicked Experiments, and to plant new Engines for the diſcredit and hinderance of the paſſage and propagation of the Goſpel.

This he plotteth (beſides many other means) by ſeducing ſome that profeſs it, into ſedition and error: And ſo in their Perſons he bringeth the Profeſſion it ſelf into obloquy and hatred with ſuch as afore did think hardly of it, or were not perſuaded it was the truth. For by reaſon of his Angelical *Subſtance, corrupted with* Diabolical *Malice, and by long Experience, even of* 5553 *years continuance, he is now become* πολυμηχανῶ, mille-artifex, *his perfect Crafts-maſter in infinite Devices and Subtilties. So that he doth at ſundry times very manifoldly and variably ſuggeſt and plot, not only ſeveral and divers, but ſometimes even contrary Opinions and Actions, one to another; howbeit all to one and the ſelf-ſame general end,* of ſeducing Mankind. *Therefore (amongſt his infinite Deceits for hinderance of the Goſpel, and of Man's Salvation by it) ſome whom he cannot pervert in Doctrine, he ſeeketh to attaint in Life: Others whom he cannot ſo eaſily ſeduce in their Converſation, he oftentimes ſoweth his cockle and darnel of Superſtition, Schiſm, and*

Hereſy

Hereſy in their hearts, and ſo perverteth them in judgment, and matter of Religion. Some, whom he cannot entangle by one ſin, he tempteth to overthrow by a ſin contrary unto it. Others whom he cannot ſnare by groſs and actual Sins, he gets ground of, by making them have over-great eſtimation of their own ſuppoſed Vertues and Purity: So that they grow hereby both to a conceit and ſelf-love of themſelves, and alſo to contemn and condemn others with the Phariſee, *ſaying:* Oh God, I thank thee, that I am not as other men are: Or *as the* Prophet *ſpeaketh touching ſuch proud Hypocrites,* Depart from me, for I am holier than thou. *Others he draweth into error by miſtaking of the true quality or cauſe of things, as when, not being able to corrupt the general Doctrine of the Church, he perſuadeth Preachers moſt to inſiſt upon matters of meer circumſtance, as if they were of eſpecial neceſſity, and procureth the outward Government and Diſcipline to be obtruded and beat upon, for a principal Point of Doctrine. So that matters of the ſubſtance of Doctrine and Faith in deed, do either wholly ſlip by untaught, or elſe are ſo ſlightly and ignorantly ſlubbered over by ſuch Preachers, that the common Adverſary the* Papiſt, *is thereby rather hardened, than convinced in his Opinions. Which practice may hereby appear to be the very ſubtilty of* Sathan, *for that ſuch do uſe far more earneſtneſs and diligence to plant and bring in that their* Diſcipline, *than they do for retaining of purity and ſoundneſs of Doctrine, and are leſs incenſed and vehement againſt* Papiſts, *than they are againſt ſuch as impugn that Fancy.*

Out

Out of this Head ſprings alſo that Error of ſome, who do attribute all diſorder and perſonal faults of men about execution of Laws, unto the Laws themſelves, and unto the very Policy of the Church: Thereupon gathering with themſelves, that the Plot of Diſcipline *(if it might come in place) will ſurely ſerve as a* Mithridate, *and a ſovereign Salve, to heal (with ſhort applying) all Diſeaſes and Sores both of Church and Commonwealth. Certain be ſo bewitched (in like ſort) by a kind of admiration of that, which is (in it ſelf) moſt neceſſary, as that in the mean time they overſlip matters of no leſs importance in the Life of a Chriſtian, becauſe they think it ſufficient to be occupied only about the other.*

Hereupon it cometh, that ſundry do attribute ſo much to the hearing of the Word preached, that neither publick nor private reading of Scripture, Works of Charity, Praying, nor practice of that which is preached, is any whit almoſt regarded of them. Whereby they are always learning, but never come unto the knowledge of the truth, as if the very work wrought of hearing alone could make them good and perfect Chriſtians. So that where in old time there were certain Hereticks called ἀχήτω, who did nothing but pray: *So (not without cauſe) have ſome feared, leſt ſuch Perſons would bring in an Hereſy of ἀκόης, putting all Religion in bare hearing of Sermons. Divers alſo there are, who are ſo whetted againſt the abuſe of things, that the* Seducer *hereby taketh opportunity to draw them to omit even the good and commendable uſe of them. Such are thoſe, that becauſe they will not ſeem to confirm*

God's

God's truth by human Teſtimony, do therefore deſpiſe all light and help of good Arts, and learned Interpreters, and inſtead of them, do in their Sermons nothing elſe, but blaze out their own frivolous and unſound Collections, trifling out the time (without order and method) by an heap of earneſt and reſonant, but undigeſted words, vain Repetitions, Tautologies *and* Battologies, *without any ſubſtance of matter, to the great abuſe of their Auditory, and of that excellent Work. Many alſo are ſo afraid to fall into ſuperſtitious obſervation of days, commanded for abſtinence and avoiding of moſt nutritive Diet, that at ſuch times they do uſually moſt pamper their vile Fleſh, even with a purpoſed and ſetled contempt of good Laws, in that behalf provided. Neither will this kind of Perſons (for the moſt part) uſe any private faſting, for ſubduing the Body, but muſt have a whole ſide of a Country, or a whole family at leaſt, know when they faſt, and will not ſtick to ride out a dozen or twenty Miles from home to faſt with others for company (though without publick Authority) there to make oſtentation of great humbling themſelves, by abſtaining perhaps from one Meal, how plentifully and delicately ſoever they do fare at Suppers, or at their next Meal. Likewiſe, to avoid opinion of ſuperſtitious worſhip of the outward Elements at Communion, ſundry do refuſe to kneel at the perception of it: And of the contrary ſide do fall to a prophane and ſwiniſh (at leaſt outward) irreverence of that high and excellent Myſtery. Others there are, who in avoiding Superſtition, are themſelves become little leſs than ſuperſtitious.*

For

For albeit the Holy Ghoſt condemneth want of natural affection as a ſin; yet ſuch Perſons, when their Husbands, Parents, or Friends do die, are ſo far from moderate ſorrow or mourning for them (leſt haply they ſhould ſeem to do it ſuperſtitiouſly and exceſſively, as thoſe do, who have no hope) that on the contrary, they do, (even with a kind of ſuperſtitious ſingularity) avoid all ſhew of ſorrow, as if it were a matter unlawful for any Chriſtians, of their degree of perfection. And therefore they take unto themſelves at ſuch times, Muſick, Roſe-mary Branches, and other tokens of joy and great ſolace. Howbeit, the Holy Ghoſt greatly commendeth the devotion of them, who buried the Martyr St. Stephen, *and made great lamentation for him. Of whoſe reſurrection nevertheleſs unto Eternal Life, thoſe Mourners had as good aſſurance, as any man now can have touching ſuch, whom theſe do ſo pleaſantly and jocundly tumble into the Pit. Many alſo he deceiveth and drowneth in ſin and impiety by ſome ſimilitude and reſemblance that it hath unto vertue and godlineſs, as, by making that which in deed is* ἐθελοθρησκεία, Will-worſhip, *to ſeem to be nothing elſe, but an earneſt care to ſerve God: Superſtition, to be taken for obedient Devotion: Hypocriſy, for true ſincerity: A ſhew of humbling a man's ſelf by a meal or two's abſtinence, and hanging down the head like a bull-ruſh, for true faſting, and ſubduing of the fleſh: Calumniation, ſlander, and diſdain of others, for an hatred of ſin: Rancour and male-contentment, for zeal of God's glory: Schiſm and Diviſion, for an avoiding of the works of darkneſs, and of*

'Ασυργία. Rom. 1.

Acts 8. 2.

pollution

pollution by them: Seditious Innovation, for lawful Reformation: Presumptuous expostulation in prayer with God, for fervency of the Spirit: Bitter invectives against others in praying, for desire of amendment in them, and to advance God's glory: Over-weening Conceits, for extraordinary Callings and Gifts: Hot and bloody pangs of Malice and Cruelty, for motions of God's Spirit, and revelation from him, with such like a great many, more than a good number. All these, and such like, are usual practices and sleights of Sathan, *whereby even in the time of the Gospel, he cunningly inveigleth and slily entrappeth many, to the danger of themselves, to the scandal and down-fall of others, and to the obloquy of true Religion.* It is necessary *(saith Christ)* that offences come; yet woe be to them, by whom they come. *And* there must needs be heresies, *(saith St.* Paul*)* that such as be approved, may be made manifest. *But of all the other, the last sort of them (being suggested by* Sathan, *under the vizard of Vertue, Godliness, and Religion) are most pernicious and devilish: And the poison of them spreadeth and rankleth furthest, to the disturbance and peril both of Church and Common-wealth, because hereby the* Devil *transformeth himself into an* Angel *of light. For as the most noble Creature engendred, is most loathsome and base in his corruption: So is the untrue pretence and colour of Piety and Religion (things of themselves of chiefest price and excellency) the most dangerous snare, and deadly dart, that* Sathan *can shoot forth.* The prophane Politick of our Age could observe,

Macchiavel.

obſerve, That ſhew of Piety and Religion was the readieſt and ſureſt way to blind and ſeduce a multitude. If then this Imp of his could mark it, ſhall we doubt, but that Sathan *himſelf, the Forger of all Subtilties, can ſee it, and accordingly alſo put it in practice? Yea, he hath put in ure this moſt dangerous Device, not only in this Action (whereof we entreat) done in our late ſight and knowledge, by his ſeduced Inſtruments,* William Hacket, Edmund Coppinger, *and* Henry Arthington; *but at ſundry other times alſo, by other his like Factors, ſince the laſt renewing of the Goſpel, begun in* Germany, *in our Fathers days. One or two of the moſt memorable of which Examples recorded in Hiſtory, it ſhall not (I truſt) be amiſs to compare with theſe late Attempts and Actions; both that the one and the other may be better known, and avoided hereafter, and that the efficacy of this ſtrong Illuſion may more fruitfully be weighed and conſidered.*

In Military Inſtructions it is preſcribed, not to uſe a Stratagem *twice together in one Age, for fear of over-freſh remembrance, and thereby of prevention. Therefore* Sathan *an old Leader, might not in his great Policy, ſo ſoon after, have again aſſayed this Practice ſo like (in moſt points) to the former in* Germany, *had he not perfectly known (by experience) the efficacy and rare working thereof, and therefore did repoſe in it, an eſpecial confidence for raiſing of Tumult, ſhedding of Blood, and overthrow of States.* Polyænus in Stratag.

But

But before I enter into that Comparison, it is requisite first to make narration of this late Conspiracy, *with the Circumstances thereof, as it was plotted and carried forward by them, so near, as I could inform my self therein, either by Depositions of others, or from their own Letters, Writings, and original Confessions upon examination.*

CON-

CONSPIRACY
FOR
Pretended Reformation.

ONE of the three principal Perſons in this Action (whereof we intreat) was *Edmund Coppinger*, a Gentleman deſcended of a good Houſe and Linage, and one of her *Majeſties* ſworn Servants, but a younger Brother, having no great Livelihood. His chief abode (as I have learned) for ſome years paſt, hath been in and about the City of *London*.

Edm. Coppinger, *Gent. a younger Brother of ſmall Eſtate.*

Another of them is *Henry Arthington*, a Gentleman likewiſe, whoſe place of Birth and Dwelling is ſaid to be in *Yorkſhire*: Howbeit for the greateſt part of certain years paſt, he hath remained and ſojourned in or about *London*. It is conſtantly (how credibly I know not) reported by ſome, who pretend to know it, that this *Arthington* (at the times of his long abodes at *London*) did moſt converſe with another Gentleman

Henry Arthington *a Yorkſhire Gentleman of mean Eſtate, and in debt.*

tleman of *Yorkſhire*, by whoſe means he preſently ſtands more deeply engaged, than his mean Eſtate might well bear, and whoſe company is feared to have wrought in him ſmall dutiful opinion of the godly Reformation planted and eſtabliſhed by the means of her *Majeſty*. It is diſcovered by the mutual Letters of *Arthington*, and the aforeſaid other *Yorkſhire* Gentleman, that certain Seditious and Slanderous Books againſt the *Council*, *Judges*, and this whole *Eſtate*, were received and diſperſed by them, being printed in *Scotland*.

Diſperſers of Seditious Books printed in Scotland *againſt the Eſtabliſhed* Engliſh *Reformation.*

Now by ſuch remaining about the City of *Coppinger* and *Arthington*, they fell to be acquainted together for ſome Years paſt.

Both *zealous Profeſſors of the Goſpel, and hot for Innovation.*

Theſe two made ſemblance, and ſo were holden to be Profeſſors of the Goſpel, neither of the coldeſt or lewk-warm ſort, (as ſuch do untruly term others, who be indeed godly wiſe, with a ſober moderation) but rather of thoſe that more juſtly may be ſaid, to be ſcalding hot in deſire of *Innovation*, which they falſely call *Reformation*. They therefore ſtanding thus affected, moſt willingly ſorted themſelves in familiarity with ſuch, as by their demeanor may ſeem to repoſe a great part of their Chriſtian Profeſſion and Zeal in the only reproacing, and odious traducing of Governors and Government Eccleſiaſtical.

They *conſort with ſuch who ſpend their zeal in reproaching the Government Eccleſiaſtical.*

They hear and follow chiefly ſuch Preachers

Theſe two having itching Ears, moſt uſually heaped to themſelves, and made choice to hear and follow ſuch Preachers as were thought

thought fitteſt to feed their humour: Which Preachers with their ſad looks, frequent ſighs abroad, long and vehement conceived Prayers, bitter and plain Invectives in private, and privy depraving in publick, of the Laws and Policy Eccleſiaſtical, joined with their uſual Speeches, beſides ſundry infamous Libels and other Pamphlets ſpread already for advancing that Government (which they ſtrangely term *The Diſcipline*) may ſeem ſo to have inflamed theſe two Perſons, as that they thought this *Diſcipline* a worthy Subject whereupon they ſhould ſpend moſt of their Actions and Cogitations.

as inveigh againſt and deprave the Eſtabliſhed Eccleſiaſtical Polity, and are for advancing that they call the Diſcipline.

Their minds being thus prepared, it happened that ſome Preachers of this *Diſcipline* were begun to be proceeded with in the moſt honourable Court of *Star-chamber*, about the ſame time that this *Coppinger* (by means of one *Giles Wigginton*) came acquainted with *William Hacket*, the third Actor and chief Setter forth of this Tragedy.

Some Preachers of the Diſcipline *proſecuted in the* Star-chamber.

Coppinger *brought acquainted with* Hacket *by* Wigginton *a Puritanical Miniſter of* Northamptonſhire.

Concerning the ſaid *Wigginton* (becauſe this alſo tendeth to the better underſtanding of the whole Action) he was born or bred up in *Oundel* in *Northamptonſhire* (where *Hacket* dwelt) and he often reſorted into that Country by that occaſion. He was not long ſince a Miniſter, and Vicar of *Sedberghe* and *Dent* in the North parts, but for his intolerable Inſolences and Contempts againſt Laws, and the Peace of the Church, was both deprived of that his Benefice, and depoſed from his Miniſtry by Authority of

Wigginton *ſome time Vicar in the North, for his inſolences and contempt a-*

gainſt the Laws and Peace of the Church, deprived ex Officio & Beneficio.

her *Majeſty*'s Commiſſion for Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, a man (by report of ſuch as know him beſt, and favour him not a little) whoſe zeal never came behind knowledge, nor bold-hardy forwardneſs, at any time went after diſcretion in him.

Hacket *lived at* Oundle, *Servant to Mr.* Huſſey, *afterwards to Sir* Thomas Treſham; *a quarrelſome Fellow.*

This *Hacket* had dwelt alſo by a long ſpace in *Oundel*, where firſt he ſerved one Maſter *Huſſey* an Eſquire, by the ſpace of ten Years; and after, for ſome time, he ſerved Sir *Thomas Treſham*, Knight: He was a notable bragging and quarelſome Fellow, yet thought in truth to be but a very recreant Daſtard.

He frequently reſorted to Sermons to mock and carp at them.

He long together uſed one lewd and ungodly practice, which was to reſort unto Sermons (of purpoſe) to gibe, mock, and carp at them: And having a good Memory (which was the only commendable part in him) he uſed in ſcoffing manner to preach over again in Alehouſes the Sermons that he had heard, moſt inſiſting and ſporting himſelf and others at ſuch Paſſages thereof which pleaſed him leaſt, or whereat he imagined any likely matter of deriding might be gathered.

Married a Widow with Subſtance, but waſted it by Idleneſs and Lewdneſs.

Whilſt thus he ſerved Maſter *Huſſey*, he obtained (by his Maſter's countenance) the marriage of one *Moreton*'s Widow, of reaſonable Subſtance, having alſo a good Farm in that Town. But he following looſe and licentious Company, and an idle courſe of life, without labour or induſtry either to get or ſave, lewdly and rioutouſly miſpent and waſted in ſhort ſpace all her Goods.

It

It fell ſo out, that at length he pretended from a *Papiſt* or an *Atheiſt*, to be converted to Religion and knowledge of the truth: At what time he grew to be of familiar and inward acquaintance with the ſaid *Giles Wigginton*, and was an eſpecial Follower and Diſciple of his, both at publick Sermons and private Conventicles. Of late times he was alſo conſorted in Partnerſhip of Malt-making with *Wigginton*: Their great acquaintance and familiarity may appear by a Letter ſent from *Hacket* unto him, the third of *March* laſt, and by his lending unto *Hacket* of ten Pounds: The Superſcription is, *To the Worſhipful Miniſter of God's Word*, *M.* Giles Wigginton *at* Newgate. In the Letter thus he writeth: *M.* Wigginton, *I deſire to communicate my Spirit at large with you, but I know not your Keeper.* And in the end thereof, thus: *Good M.* Wigginton *make my ſound heart known to Maſter* Cartwright, *Maſter* Snape, *Maſter* Udall, *Maſter* Lord, &c.

Pretended from a Papiſt or Atheiſt to be converted to the Truth, got intimately acquainted with Wigginton.

By his and ſuch others (like affected mens) Inſtructions and Example of life and behaviour, he ſo profited, that in ſhort ſpace he proved one that profeſſed with the forwardeſt, and practiſed with the frowardeſt. For falling as Fools do, from one extremity to another, *Qui dum vitant vitia, in contraria currunt*, he grew to a moſt inſolent, proud, and contemptuous diſdain of all Preachers and others whomſoever, that flew not his pitch, or lay not to the level of his pretended zeal. But moſt gladly, and with greateſt

Grew a forward Profeſſor, and great Railer againſt the Laws and Orders of the Church.

felicity that might be, he uſed to ſpend his mouth largely in Invectives, Railings and Contumelies againſt Biſhops and other Governors of the Church, and alſo againſt the Laws, Orders, and whole Government Eccleſiaſtical, not ſticking (as was probably ſuſpected) to procure alſo ſundry lewd infamous Libels againſt them and other Preachers, *&c.* to be framed and ſet up thereabouts.

Deſpiſed the Town-Miniſter for his Conformity.

His deteſtation of Eccleſiaſtical Orders commanded was ſo great, that he could not endure to frequent the Sermons which *Ray* the Miniſter of that Town did preach, becauſe he ſeemed to him a little more conformable in ſome few matters (by Authority eſtabliſhed) than *Hacket* liked of. Wherefore on *Sabboth* days *Hacket* uſually did reſort to a Place a Mile off called *Stoke* (where the Miniſter fitted his Humour better) in company of ſome of like ſtrain to himſelf, and of certain light idle Goſſips, whereof ſome of the ſincereſt were ſaid to love and like him ſo little, as that ſhe could oft-times be content to take the Meat off his Trencher, which he had cut for himſelf, and to eat it up from him. But whenſoever this devout Flock came ſo near to *Stoke Church*, as they might perceive the Miniſter to be yet at Divine Service and Prayer; then they uſed to ſtay abroad and reſt themſelves in the Green Churchyard there (without going into the Church) until they heard the Pſalm begun before Sermon, for fear leſt they ſhould be polluted by thoſe Prayers. One

Slighted the Divine Service.

One moſt memorable Prank (above others) was plaid in *Oundel* by *Hacket*, which is renowned far and near for the unmanly brutiſhneſs of it. It happened that M. *Huſſey* his Maſter fell at debate, and was offended with one *Freckingham* an Artificer of the Town. This *Freckingham* had a Son which was a Schoolmaſter, who (as in nature he was bound) did take part with his Father. Now *Hacket* meeting this Schoolmaſter in an Alehouſe or Inn, did lovingly (as ſeemed) ſignify unto him how ſorry he was, that there ſhould be any breach betwixt his Maſter and him the ſaid Schoolmaſter, entertaining him (that ſuſpected no Treachery) with ſuch good Speeches, till ſpying an advantage, he ſo graſped both *Freckingham* his Arms, as that he might eaſily hold him, and throw him to the ground. Thus having gotten him down on the ground under him, *Hacket* moſt ſavagely and curriſhly bit off the poor Schoolmaſter's Noſe with his teeth, which when he had ſo barbarouſly performed, both the ſaid *Freckingham* and one *Clement* (a cunning Surgeon) inſtantly deſired the Noſe of him again, that whilſt the Wound was freſh and green, it might be ſtitched on and grow again (as they conceived it would) to avoid ſo foul and great deformity: But the *Canibal* Varlet not only utterly refuſed ſo to part with it, but held it up triumphantly, and ſhewed it with great vauntery and glory, to all that would behold it; and after (as ſome have reported)

He treacherouſly bit off a man's Noſe in a Quarrel.

did in a moſt ſpiteful and diveliſh outrage eat it up.

Retain'd in the Service of Sir Charles Morriſon

In proceſs of time it happened that his Maſter fell out with him, and put him from his Service (I think for no good Conditions) yet it is ſaid that he was retained afterward in ſervice (by what means I know not) with a very worſhipful Gentleman, Sir *Charles Morriſon*, Knight, Nephew to his firſt Maſter; and one of thoſe againſt whom he lately cauſed his two ſmall Prophets ſo vilely to exclaim, and ſo unworthily to charge, even openly in *Cheapſide*.

Hacket *a great Swearer and Blaſphemer in his Youth.*

Beſides his former Vertues and good Qualities, this *Hacket* was alſo a very great Swearer and Blaſphemer of the Name of God in his younger years; which courſe, when afterward, to retain the reputation of a Profeſſor of the Goſpel (whereof he made great pretence) he was forced to leave, he turned his ſingle Oaths (in truth) into worſe and more horrible, joined with moſt fearful Imprecations againſt himſelf, whenſoever he would make any Aſſeverations, wherein he deſired to be credited, as namely theſe: *So God judge me*, *I renounce God*, and *God confound* and *damn me*, or do ſo, or ſo unto me, if this be not true: which was ſo uſual, and by long cuſtom ſo inveterate in him, even till the time of his apprehenſion, that in the midſt of his counterfeit Holineſs (whereby he ſeduced *Coppinger* and *Arthington*) he often burſt forth into this kind of execration againſt himſelf, as an eſpecial motive (amongſt

Which after his pretended Converſion he turn'd into dreadful Execrations.

(amongſt others) to have his words to be better believed by them. *Arthington* noted this courſe of *Hacket*'s as a notable vertue in him, and a matter of rare zeal. *His manner* (ſaith he) *of praying is as it were ſpeaking to God face to face, denouncing his Judgments againſt himſelf, if he diſſemble, lie, or ſeek himſelf in any thing, but the honour of God only. He prayed ſo confidently for Miſtreſs* H. *that he charged God to have given her unto him, to reſtore her to her former health and liberty every way, ſaying, Lord, according to thy promiſe thou haſt power, and I have faith, therefore it ſhall come to paſs.* This Miſtreſs *H.* is a Gentlewoman of *London*, who pretendeth or feareth to be poſſeſſed with a Devil now fourteen years together.

His ſtrange Expreſſions in Prayer.

Beſides theſe he was given to quaffing and drunkenneſs: Being not only a Maltſter, but a Malt-worm, and was addicted alſo to laſcivious life with Women, which commonly accompanieth the other vicious Exceſs: For credit whereof his own Story or Legend (which himſelf endited as a notable Monument of his excellent Vertues and ſpecial Holineſs) may give too ſufficient teſtimony: For therein he telleth of many temptations in this kind with Women, which (as himſelf confeſſeth) he rejected not altogether, but went further than either godlineſs or yet civil honeſty would permit. But he pretendeth that theſe Baits were offered and laid by his Enemies (who ſought matter againſt him) as Snares and Traps whereby to

Addicted to Drunkenneſs and laſcivious Life.

to take his holineſs tardy, that belike was ſo hard to be entangled. Inſomuch as *Arthington* in the forefront of that Hiſtory (which he did whilſt he was yet ſeduced by *Hacket*) doth ſtamp this brand and cenſure upon it, That they were prophane Speeches and matters of Women, which he would not have ſet down, but that he could not otherwiſe reveal the villanous practice which *Hacket*'s Enemies intended for the overthrow of the Goſpel of *Chriſt*, as he moſt childiſhly and ridiculouſly excuſed then the matter. For further proof and manifeſtation of his laſcivious Diſpoſition, it is alſo informed from the Place of his Abode, that on a time (under colour of giving godly Counſel) he attempted to have wickedly raviſhed a poor man's Daughter, whereupon he was forced to ſtep aſide out of the way for a ſeaſon.

Neither did the wickedneſs of this Wretch here reſt it ſelf: For he was vehemently holden in ſuſpicion for committing alſo of ſundry Robberies.

Covers his Wickedneſs with Profeſſion of Religion, and zeal for Reformation.

But that which maketh up the heap of all Wickedneſs, is this: That the ſink of theſe Sins in him he always ſmoothly covered and parieted over (eſpecially for ſundry late years) with a very rare outward earneſtneſs in profeſſion of true Religion, and with a moſt entire (yea burning) deſire of reforming (forſooth) the Church and Commonwealth, by eſtabliſhing the *Presbyterial Diſcipline*, which he did imagine would

prove

prove like the Box of *Pandora*, for it promiſeth cure for all Maladies and Diſorders.

Which he then chiefly pretended to after he had waſted his Subſtance.

But this his zeal and deſire of Reformation, begun then moſt of all to enkindle it ſelf in him, and to break forth, after that (by riotous miſpending and licentious life) he had waſted the Wealth that he had with the Widow, whom he married, whoſe hap was very hard to match with him, albeit he made more of her than ſhe deſired, for he made the uttermoſt peny. For then he begun with counterfeit Holineſs to ſet out himſelf (amongſt ſuch of the ſimpler ſort as had zeal without knowledge) to be a man indued with an extraordinary and ſingular Spirit, ſuch as (in old time) the Prophets and Holy Men of God were; making ſhew withall, as if he had ſome peculiar Gifts and Qualities, to be able even to tell Secrets and work Miracles, which many believed; whereof ſome did attribute them to Sorcery and Enchantments, but the ſimpler ſort unto his rare Spirit and Holineſs.

He pretended to a Prophetick Spirit, and to miraculous Works, in order to erecting the Diſcipline.

For he truſted by this perſuaſion to get ſuch credit with the unſtable Multitude, as that by their hands he might one day be able (whoſoever ſhould withſtand it) to bring his Purpoſes about, for erecting of ſuch pretended *Diſcipline*, to his own great eſtimation and advancement. In this vain and ſeducing Humour he is reported (I know not how truly) to have travelled in the North parts unto *York*: For among the ſimpler People (where he was not known) he hoped by the Vizard

Vizard of Holineſs and Religion not a little to prevail in ſetting forward his Deſignments. For which purpoſe he took upon him there the Office and Spirit of St. *John Baptiſt*, affirming, that he was ſent thither by God to prepare the way of the Lord before his ſecond coming to judgment. But the counterfeit holineſs and lewd ſeducing purpoſe of the Varlet being diſcovered unto ſome in Authority, he was welcomed not with loſs of his Head (as that holy man unjuſtly was, whom he wickedly counterfeited) but was well whipped and after baniſhed that City.

Affirmed at York *to have the Office and Spirit of* John Baptiſt.

Being detected he was whipped out of the City.

This Medicine wrought not ſo effectually with him, as that it could terrify him wholly from the like Attempts. For it is reported, that after this he aſſayed again to put on the like Perſon or Mask at *Lincoln*, where he alſo found the ſame Cheer and Entertainment for his pains, as he received afore at *York*.

Had the ſame uſage afterwards at Lincoln.

But this erroneous Opinion (whereby through ſelf-love and illuſion of the Devil, he thought that he was reſerved of God for ſome great and excellent Work, being blown forward by the ſhew of zeal, and of an earneſtneſs for ſuch a Reformation) could not thus eaſily be quenched and rooted out of him: the rather, for that by uſe and imitation of ſuch as he moſt followed and converſed with (though wholly otherwiſe he were unlettered) he had grown to ſuch a dexterity in conceiving of Extemporal Prayers, with bum-

Fancied himſelf reſerv'd of God for ſome great Work.

bumbaſted and thundering words, as that he was thereby marvailed at, and greatly magnified by ſome Brethren and Siſters, as a man greatly vouchſafed with God, and adorned with rare and ſingular Endowments from Heaven, ſo that through admiration of ſuch ſuppoſed Excellencies in him, he ſtill continued to fancy unto himſelf, that he had rare Gifts and an *extraordinary* Calling. For he gave out to divers that he was a *Prophet* of God's Vengeance, where his Mercy is refuſed: Saying, That *if Reformation be not eſtabliſhed in* England *this preſent Year, three great Plagues ſhall fall upon it, the Sword, Peſtilence and Famine.* He pretended alſo that God had revealed unto him moſt wonderful things, *Which he would* (he ſaid) *utter to none but ſuch as himſelf knew to be very reſolute in God's Cauſe:* But he told unto *Arthington* and *Coppinger, that there ſhould be no more Popes hereafter.*

Was an illiterate Fellow, but had acquired a great dexterity in Extempore Prayers.

Was much admired, and affirm'd himſelf a Prophet of God's Vengeance.

Upon confidence of which Spirit and Gifts in himſelf, in Places of his reſort, with an intemperate and fanatical boldneſs, (even as if he had ſufficient warrant for it) he dared oftentimes to utter moſt vile, lewd, and ſeditious Speeches both of the Queen's *Majeſty*, and of certain the greateſt Subjects whom he thought to be hinderers of his Practices. Which his Outrages being once or twice brought unto the Ears of certain in Authority in *Northamptonſhire*, and elſewhere (not ſufficiently acquainted with the ſtrange Humours of ſuch *Anabaptiſtical* Wizards

With Fanatical boldneſs uter'd ſeditious Speeches againſt the Queen, &c.

zards and Fanatical Sectaries) and perhaps unwilling to let his words be drawn ſo far againſt him, as they juſtly might; they were therefore content to attribute them to ſome ſpice of phrenſy in him, and in that quality to be corrected, rather than to conſtrue them to have proceeded from any ſetled and adviſed malice, as the event hath ſince made moſt manifeſt they did. For in the whole courſe beſides of other the Speeches and Actions of his Life, both before and after, no alienation of mind or madneſs could be noted in him.

Was corrected in Northamptonſhire *as Phrantick.*

At one of the times that he was brought in queſtion for his Seditious, and indeed Treaſonable Speeches, it happened that he was convented before that honourable Counſeller Sir *Walter Mildmay*, who commanded him (for more ſafegard) to be watched the night before he was to be conveyed to *Northampton* Gaol, at what time the counterfeit diſſembling Wretch willed his Wife to let him lie alone in the Chamber that was to be watched, for that he had to confer with one that would come unto him that night: Inſinuating unto her, as if he were to have at that time ſome ſpecial Conferences with God, or ſome Angel. Whereupon it was ſtraightway blown abroad thereabouts amongſt the credulous multitude of thoſe, that either favoured him for ſuppoſed Zeal, or feared him for Sorceries, that (albeit there were no Candles uſed) yet there was a great light (that night) ſeen ſhining in

Put into Northampton *Gaol.*

Pretended to have conference with God or ſome Angel.

in his Chamber: ſo that by this Tale the erroneous Opinions afore conceived of him, were greatly encreaſed.

After he had lien in *Northampton* Gaol a good ſpace, and was come unto his Trial (in the abſence of Sir *Walter* from thence) the matter is thought to have been ſo handled by ſome (who in favour of his forwardneſs, would needs interpret his Felonies to be but Follies) as that (no Evidence being given againſt him) he was diſmiſſed for that pull; upon Bond entred for his appearance, when he ſhould be called for again.

Wigginton *brings him acquainted with* Coppinger.

Now *Hacket* (a man thus qualified as ye hear) was of all other men thought by *Wigginton* moſt fit and worthy to be recommended, and ſtraightly linked unto *Coppinger*'s Familiar acquaintance; as moſt aptly conforting with his humorous Conceit; long ere this apprehended by him, whereof it ſeemeth *Wigginton* was not ignorant, nor miſliked.

An Account thereof out of Hacket*'s. Hiſtory*, Arthington*'s Propheſies. Both Manuſcripts.*

Their acquaintance was wrought in this manner, as *Hacket* teſtifieth in that Diſcourſe (which they ſince call *Hacket's Hiſtory enlarged*) endited by himſelf, written by *Coppinger*, and afterward copied out fair by *Arthington*, as it ſhould have gone to the Preſs, being annexed to *Arthington's Propheſy*. For there it is ſaid: *That the Lord brought* Hacket *to London* (about the beginning of *Eaſter* Term laſt) *to ſee what would be done againſt* Job Throgmorton, *and partly to reckon with* M. Wigginton *about the making of malt between*

between them together: At what time Wigginton *ſaid, That there was a Gentleman in the City, a very good man; but* Hacket *(as the Lord knoweth) did not think that there had been one godly man in the Land; and ſuppoſed the Twelfth Pſalm belonged to this time. When* Wigginton *was deſcribing the Man, and the matter that he was entring into,* viz. *that the Man whom he ſpoke of, had a meſſage to ſay to his Sovereign, concerning ſome practice intended againſt her, from dealing wherein, the Preachers in* London *had wonderfully diſcouraged him: then* Hacket *anſwered thus: Did you ſo alſo? No, ſaith* Wigginton: *Then ſaid* Hacket, *encourage him in any wiſe: for what know you what matter it is he hath to ſay? Hereupon* Wigginton *ſent for the ſaid* Edmund Coppinger *to come to the Counter to ſpeak with him; who (by God's Providence) came forthwith, and* Wigginton *willed them to take acquaintance one of the other, aſſuring* Coppinger *that he knew* Hacket *to be a man truly fearing God, and ſuch a Perſon, as by whoſe Conference God might miniſter ſome comfort to* Coppinger: *Whereupon they two, (viz.* Coppinger *and* Hacket) *went from thence preſently unto* Hacket's *Chamber, at the Sign of the* Caſtle *without* Smithfield-Bars: *So ſoon as they were entred the Chamber,* Coppinger *deſired that before any ſpeech ſhould paſs between them, they might firſt pray to God together, which they did:* Hacket *ſpeaking to the Lord firſt. After which Prayer,* Coppinger *delivered unto* Hacket, *how he had been very ſtrangely and extraordinarily moved by God to go*

to

to her Majeſty, and to tell her plainly, that the Lord's pleaſure was, that ſhe muſt (with all ſpeed) reform her ſelf, her Family, the Common-wealth, and the Church: And that the Lord had further told him, by what means all the ſame ſhould be done; but that Secret he would not then deliver unto Hacket. *Then* Coppinger *alſo prayed unto God, deſiring him, if he would be with him, and bleſs that Buſineſs (which he had committed to his charge) that then he would both furniſh him with Gifts fit for ſo weighty an Action, and knit the heart of* Hacket *and his ſo together, as* David's *and* Jonathan's, Moſes's *and* Aaron's: *For anſwer hereof,* Hacket *took further time till the morning, at which time in the morning (a Prayer being firſt made)* Hacket *laid all the Lord's buſineſs (which was to be done by himſelf) upon* Coppinger's *back; telling him the Lord had appointed him to it, and would ſtand with him in it.* Thus far in this Point goeth that Diſcourſe.

But long before this time of their two firſt Acquaintances, *Coppinger* (upon his return forth of *Kent*, in *Michaelmas* Term laſt) had ſignified unto *Arthington*, and to one *T. Lancaſter*, a Schoolmaſter in *Shoe-lane*, (both being of his familiar Acquaintance, and whom he had requeſted to faſt and pray with him, for ſucceſs in obtaining a Widow) that *God had ſhewed him, the ſaid* Coppinger, *great favour, by revealing ſuch a ſecret Myſtery unto him as was wonderful, being in ſubſtance thus much, viz. That he knew a way how to bring the Queen to repentance, and to cauſe*

Coppinger *pretends to a ſecret Myſtery revealed to him relating to the Diſcipline, and the Queen's repentance about it.*

cauſe all her Council and Nobles to do the like out of hand, or elſe detect them to be Traitors that refuſed: All they by ſuch *Repentance*, meaning and underſtanding (as it ſeemeth) the erecting of their fanciful *Diſcipline*. For this Phraſe being uſual with them in Conferences of this matter, he thereby ſufficiently declared his mind to them, and they well underſtood what was meant, without further a-do.

He imparts it to Wigginton.

Now it had been inconvenient that *Coppinger* ſhould all this while conceal this Myſtery (which he imparted unto them, and after to *Hacket*) from *Wigginton*, who brought them acquainted together, unto whom he ſo oft reſorted, and ſo highly above all other Preachers eſteemed, *for his reſolute dealings in God's matters*, as he terms them; whom he alſo after advouched unto *Arthington*, as an irrefragable Witneſs to be perſuaded by, that would juſtify the truth of *Hacket*'s Torments, and whom he alſo knew more often buſied for attaining of that *Diſcipline* (which himſelf alſo laboured for) than perhaps for Heaven it ſelf. And you ſee that he had accordingly done it, *Wigginton* not diſcouraging him therein.

Arthington *and* Lancaſter *miſlike the matter as impracticable.*

This Propoſition ſo made by *Coppinger*, *Arthington* ſaith, *that he and* Lancaſter *miſliked, as a matter impoſſible by* Coppinger *to be done, but by the Lord Jeſus only, and ſuch, whereof the iſſue could not fall out well any way, and ſo put him off for the firſt time*; not underſtanding in what manner, and by what ſpecial

ſpecial means, *Coppinger* conceived that ſuch *repentance* ſhould be wrought in the Queen's Majeſty, and in others.

The manner and other circumſtances of the firſt revealing of this pretended Myſtery, *Coppinger* himſelf at large declareth in a Letter written the 4th of *February* laſt, unto *T. C.* in Priſon: The occaſion of writing it, he there ſaith, was the ſaid *T. C*'s *offer to take knowledge (by writing) from him of ſuch matter, as might induce him to ſuppoſe himſelf to have received ſome hope of ſpecial favour from God, to ſome ſpecial uſe: But yet, without warrant from the Word, direction of the Holy Spirit, and approbation of the Church, he was (he ſaid) moſt unwilling to enter into ſo great an Action.* The Letter is long, but to this effect: *That upon ſome extraordinary humiliation of him, he, with ſome other, and a Guide of their Exerciſe, joined in a Faſt: Their Guide (in the Evening) ſpake of the uſe of Faſts, &c. and then willed the others to add to that, which he had delivered, either for the general, or particular Cauſes, which moved them to humble themſelves: That a great part of the ſaid Night* Coppinger *found himſelf very extraordinarily exerciſed, &c. by ſuch a motive, as he could not well deſcribe; partly comforted with a wonderful Zeal; which he found himſelf to have, to ſet forth God's glory any ways, which lawfully he might enter into; partly caſt down by ſuch a burning fire of Concupiſcence, as in his greateſt ſtrength of body, he had not found the like: That the next day he riding into the Country (as he rid)*

The manner and circumſtances of revealing the Myſtery, Coppinger *declares in a Letter to* Cartwright, *then in Priſon, deſiring an Anſwer to ſome Queſtions.*

rid) fanſied to himſelf, that there was leave given him to ſpeak to God in a more familiar manner, than at any time before: And alſo perſuaded himſelf, that God's Spirit did give him many ſtrange Directions, wherein the Lord would uſe him to do ſervice to his moſt glorious Majeſty, and to his Church. Upon which, he had thought to have returned preſently back, and to have left his intended Journey: But going on, and after being returned back, he imparted to his former Faſt-fellows the work of God in him, and deſired they might again join in the like, (which he (with ſome other) went forward with, to their comfort, but without their chief Guide, for he refuſed to join. Hereupon (he ſaith) that he was again ſtirred up to ſuch buſineſs of ſuch importance, as in the eyes of fleſh and blood, were likely to bring much danger to himſelf, and unlikely to bring any good ſucceſs to the Church of God: Hereof he writ to ſome Preachers out of the Realm, and to ſome in the Realm: At length he writ hereof to one in the City that was ſilenced: Who reſolved him, that God did yet work extraordinarily in ſome Perſons to ſome ſpecial uſes. Hereupon he obtained this Preacher's conſent to join with him, and about four others, on the Lord's-Day, in a Faſt: Which Day was choſen, that they might not hinder their worldly Affairs in the Week; and that they uſed means to have notice given to ſome of the Preachers in Priſon of the Day of their humiliation, deſiring them to commend to God in their Prayers the holy Purpoſes, which any fearing God, ſhould (in time) attempt to take in hand, by ſeeking to bring glory

Note.

Note.

to

to God, and good to the Church: That in their Prayers at the ſaid Faſt, he and others did beſeech God, That if he had appointed to uſe any of them to do any ſpecial ſervice to him and his, that to that end he would extraordinarily call them, that he would ſeal up his, or their ſuch Calling, by ſome ſpecial manner, by his Holy Spirit, and give ſuch extraordinary Graces and Gifts as are fit for ſo weighty an Action. The Night following (he ſaith) *he thought (in his ſleep) that he was carried into Heaven; and there being wonderfully aſtoniſhed with the Majeſty of God, and brightneſs of his glory, he made a loud, and moſt ſtrange noiſe, whereby he awaked his Brother that lay with him, and ſome in the next Chamber. Since which time* (ſaith he) *I find every day more and more comfort: And ſuppoſe, that there is ſomewhat in me, which my ſelf am not ſo fit to judge of: And therefore I deſire the Church (I mean your ſelf, and ſuch as you ſhall name unto me, becauſe I cannot come to you without danger to your ſelf and me) to look narrowly into me: And if I be thought to be any way miſled, I crave ſharp cenſuring: If I be guided by God's Spirit to any good end, as hereafter ſhall be adjudged, I ſhall be ready to acquaint you and them with generalities and particularities, ſo far forth as you and they be deſirous to look into. At this time the end of my writing is only to acquaint you with the occaſions of mine entring into this great Action, and to have your further anſwer to ſome Queſtions, wherein I deſire to be reſolved; with your direction alſo, what hereafter I am to ſignify to your ſelf, concerning the matter* Note.

it ſelf. Of the Queſtions wherein he thus deſired reſolution, I do find two Copies of *Coppinger*'s own hand; The one more large and confuſed, the other briefer, and in better order, but both to one purpoſe, which to have ſet down, may give good light (in mine opinion) to this Narration.

The Queſtions to be reſolved are,
1. Whether there be not extraordinary Perſons in the Church in theſe days, as Apoſtles, Evangeliſts, &c.
2. Whether their Call be not immediate from God, and manifeſted to the Church by extraordinary Gifts and Graces?
3. Whether the Church may examine the ſame? and in what manner?
4. Whether may the ſame be found in a Country where the Goſpel is truly preached, but the true

The Queſtions to be reſolved, *viz.*

1. *Whether there be (in theſe days) any extraordinary Workers and Helpers to his Church, either Apoſtles, Evangeliſts, or Prophets, where need requires, more or leſs? or* Nazarites, *Healers, Admoniſhers, in any ſpecial ſort?*

2. *If there be, is not their Calling immediate from God, and his Spirit, a Seal unto their Spirits, through which they have ſuch excellent gifts and graces of Wiſdom, Knowledg, Courage, Magnanimity, Zeal, Patience, Humility, &c. as do manifeſt ſuch their Calling to the Church?*

3. *If ſuch Graces and Gifts ſhall appear, whether may the Church enter into conſideration of the ſucceſs which God may pleaſe to give, yea or no? If they may, in what manner are they to proceed with ſuch a Perſon, extraordinarily called?*

4. *If it ſhall be confeſſed, that there may be until the end of the world immediate Callings from God: Whether may the ſame be found in a Country where the Goſpel is truly preached, and the Sacraments (in ſome ſort) truly adminiſtred, though not univerſally, but here and there, not perfectly, but in part: And where the true Diſcipline*

cipline is not eſtabliſhed, but oppugned by the publick Magiſtrates, &c.

Diſcipline not eſtabliſhed, but oppugned?

5. If it ſhall be anſwered, that no extraordinary Callings are to be looked for, but where there is a waſte of the Church, whether can it be truly ſaid, that there is a waſte of the Church, where the Prince and chief Magiſtrates are ignorant of the neceſſity of the Diſcipline, oppoſing themſelves againſt it, perſecuting ſuch as ſeek it: By means whereof, all wicked Perſons whatſoever be admitted to publick exerciſe of the Word, and to the Lord's Table: Whether (I ſay) may it be hoped for, that God for his glory's ſake, and the good of the Church) may extraordinarily call ſome, by giving him a Spirit above others, to deal with the Magiſtrate in the name of God: To provide that the People may every where be taught, and true Diſcipline executed, where the People already have knowledge?

5. If no extraordinary Calls to be expected, but where there is waſte in the Church; and if there be waſte in the Church where Prince and Magiſtrate oppoſe the Diſcipline, Whether may not an extraordinary Call be expected of ſome to deal with the Magiſtrate in the Name of God to Execute the True Diſcipline?

6. Whether, where there be wanting Paſtors, Doctors, Elders, Deacons, and Widows, &c. in the Church eſtabliſhed, and only a Miniſter thruſt upon the People to be their Paſtor, without their choice or liking: Whether it can be truly ſaid, a man ſo placed (though furniſhed with all inward Gifts and Graces of God's Spirit fit for that Calling) hath the lawful and perfect Calling of a Miniſter, or no?

6. Where the true Diſcipline is wanting, whether a Paſtor thruſt on the People without their choice have a lawful Call?

To theſe I find *Wigginton*'s Reſolution made under his own hand, to this effect briefly, *viz.* That God hath, doth, and will, from time to time raiſe up *extraordinary* Workers, and Helpers, to his Church, a

Wigginton's *Reſolutions of* Coppinger's *Queſtions in the affirmative.*

Apoſtles, *Evangeliſts*, and *Prophets*, where need requireth, and as *Nazarites*, *Healers*, *Admoniſhers* in ſpecial ſort, and ſuch like; that theſe cannot be known to themſelves, but by God's Spirit; nor to others, but by godly effects: That he who is ſo called, need not to ask many Queſtions of mortal men for his Calling, yet muſt be approved godly before he enterprize his Work, eſpecially if he have been a known wicked Perſon before.

That where the chief Rulers of any Houſe or Country, or the moſt part of any Houſe or Country be ignorant, and untaught, there it may be truly ſaid, that Houſe or Country is out of frame, deſolate, or waſte: much more then, when one part of Thirty or Forty is not well framed, rightly taught, or guided, *&c.* in that Houſe or Country.

Such extraordinary Callings juſtified by two Examples.

And in another Paper of his own Hand, he avoucheth ſuch *extraordinary* Callings, by example of one that cried up and down the Streets in *Jeruſalem*, before it was beſieged; and by another, which (he ſaith) the laſt *Parliament* came forth of *Yorkſhire* to *London*, ſaying, he was charged from God by an *Angel* in a Viſion, to ſignify great Vengeance from God upon the whole Realm, for certain great Enormities by himſelf (in another man's perſon) untruly and ſeditiouſly ſurmiſed. So that hereby it appeareth, that *Wigginton* is the ſilenced Preacher, meant by *Coppinger* in the former Letter, who reſolved him of *extraordinary* Callings in thoſe days;

who

who conſented to faſt and pray with him and others, for a Seal, *&c.* of ſuch Calling; and who (as he afterward affirmed to *Hacket*) would not diſcourage *Coppinger* in his Purpoſes.

This Conceit hereupon waxing ſtronger and ſtronger in *Coppinger*, he often came to *Lancaſter*'s Houſe (where alſo *Arthington* then lay) to confer with them; ſpecially to know the certainty, whether there were any *extraordinary* Calling in this laſt Age, and how the ſame might be tried? They both told him (as is now ſaid) that they were meer *ordinary* men, not able to reſolve him, much leſs to take trial of his Gifts, and therefore willed him to keep his Secrets to himſelf, or elſe to go to others, that could better judge of them. Whereupon *Coppinger* ſought for direction to divers Preachers, and others in *London*, and elſewhere, of what ſetled diſpoſition may eaſily be conjectured: For reſolution alſo herein (by the help of his diligent Fellow-labourer in this buſineſs, *John ap Henry aliàs a Penry*) he ſollicited the Reformed Preachers (ſo theſe Fellows term them) of ſome Foreign Parts.

Coppinger *waxeth ſtronger in his Conceit.*

Seeks direction from Divers Puritanical Preachers, is aſſiſted by Penry.

It may alſo be gathered by ſome Letters written by him to a Gentleman near about a great *Counſellor*, that he bare the ſaid Gentleman in hand, as if he had intelligence touching ſome matter of great ſervice to her *Majeſty*, and the Commonwealth, to be imparted to the ſaid *Counſellor*. For in the Copy of a Letter of his, of the 28th of *January*

Coppinger's *Letters to a Counſellor, pretending ſome ſervice to the Queen.*

nuary laſt, he thus writeth. *Your ſignification of ſome ſervice, which you heard I was deſirous to do, in diſcharge of my duty to her Majeſty, may give his Lordſhip cauſe to ſuſpect that I honour him not ſo much as I do. Your revealing thereof to his Lordſhip, I do aſſure you, doth much trouble me, becauſe I am not furniſhed with ſuch matter as I wiſh. My meaning was therefore to have forborn his Lordſhip's trouble, until I had learned out that which my heart deſireth to do, &c.* And in another Letter of his written to the ſame Gentleman the 1ſt of *February* after, in this ſort: *If you think he looketh to have me come to his Lordſhip, (about any thing which you have put into his head) let me underſtand from you when I may attend his Lordſhip's pleaſure, which being known, I will (according to my duty) do it, though I wiſh my ſelf to be freed, until I may know that which may give his Lordſhip cauſe to think of me, as I do deſire to deſerve*, &c.

Now that this matter was the ſame whereof he deſired ſuch reſolution, may be gathered by a Note of his own Hand, ſet upon the back of theſe two Copies, thus: *viz. By theſe Letters it may appear, what care I had to carry my ſelf in this Action.* But in his Letters (about this matter) written unto Preachers, and others of his own humour, he goeth more plainly to work, and declareth another purpoſe, and that it is *a ſpecial ſervice by him to be done, to God and his Church*, and ſo no Civil Matter, as he elſewhere pretendeth.

In his Letters to the Preachers pretends ſome ſervice to God and his Church, meaning in both the ſame matter.

For

For I find by a Letter of another Gentleman of the Laity, dated the 25th of *January* laſt, and written unto *Coppinger* in anſwer: that *Coppinger* had ſent for him up to *receive advice of him in ſome matters of importance, tending to the true Service of God, wherein he was labouring:* In the end whereof are theſe words, *viz. You are in a plentiful Soil, where you may uſe the advice of many godly wiſe: Uſe the benefit thereof: And then* (as *Joſhua* ſaid) *be bold, and of a good courage: Fear not to be diſcouraged, for God, even the mighty God, will protect, and defend you.*

P. W. *a Lay Gentleman, his Letter to* Coppinger, *incouraging him to go on in his Work.*

In his ſolliciting the Preachers to take trial of his Gifts and extraordinary Calling, it appeareth he uſed ſome more plainneſs, without much diſguiſing of the quality of the Action, which he intended, and likewiſe how faintly he was diſcouraged from it by them. For in a Letter of his unto *T. L.* written the 29th of *January* laſt, he reporteth, that *M. E. (a Preacher) moſt Chriſtianly, wiſely, and lovingly perſuaded him to be careful and circumſpect over himſelf: To take heed leſt he were deceived by the ſubtilty of Satan, and ſo miſled; whereby he might endanger himſelf both for his Liberty, Eſtate and Credit, and alſo be an hinderance to the great Cauſe, which he would ſeem to be moſt deſirous to further; but withal, the ſaid* M. E. *concluded, that he would be loath to quench the Spirit of God in him, or to hinder his Zeal.*

The Preachers adviſe him to Caution; but do not diſcourage, nor reprove him.

Note.

About this time and matter, *Coppinger* writ alſo another Letter to *T. C.* which thing

thing (beſides the Letter it ſelf) appeareth alſo by a Letter of his, written the 24th of *February* laſt, to one *M. H.* The whole tenor of the Letter unto *T. C.* is (in mine Opinion) meet to be here inſerted, in many reſpects, *viz. Right Reverend Sir, I have with much grief been put back from doing ſome ſpecial ſervice to God, and to his Church, which I hope time will manifeſt, that I am appointed for: Which if it had been done by Enemies, it ſhould not much have troubled me: But being done by Perſons as much regarded by me, as fleſh and blood can regard men, it goeth near unto me. From you I received this Meſſage, That I ſhould attempt nothing but by advice of thoſe whom you would procure to counſel me: This was done from you in the name of the Lord of Heaven and Earth, and therefore I obey it with great care and conſcience, expecting at your hands, that* Monday, *being the day appointed for conference, that it may hold; that I may be juſtified in my courſe, or condemned. The danger that ſome ſtand in for their lives, is not unknown: And if I had not been letted, I durſt have ventured my life to have procured their releaſe ere now. God help us: I ſee Wiſdom, Zeal, Courage, and Love are ſeen but in few, and thoſe who would gladly uſe thoſe Graces and Gifts which God hath given them, cannot: But God ſeeth what is beſt to be done, and he will by contrary effects bring to paſs whatſoever pleaſeth him. If you will anſwer my laſt Queſtions, there may much uſe be made of them. I deſire them as much in regard of others, as my ſelf, who am reſolved*

Note. Coppinger's *Letter to* Cartwright *about ſome ſpecial ſervice to God and his Church; he fancied himſelf call'd for.*

Note.

reſolved of divers things, whereof I crave to be reſolved, which I do to good purpoſe. And as you commanded me (in the name of God) to be wiſe and circumſpect, and to deal by counſel, ſo, (as I may) I command you in the name of God, that you adviſe the Preachers to deal ſpeedily and circumſpectly, leſt ſome blood of the Saints be ſhed, which muſt needs bring down vengeance from Heaven upon the Land. Return this Letter, I beſeech you, to me, that I may ſhew it (amongſt other things) when the meeting ſhall be, and commend me and my Purpoſes to God in your holy Prayers, that they may ſo far be bleſſed, as himſelf is the director of them: God keep us ever his, this 14th of February. There is alſo this Poſtſcript. *I am ſo full of worldly buſineſs, as I have no time to attend this weighty Action, but do only weight upon God for the direction of his Spirit, ſaving my heart and ſoul are ſtill mindful hereof, and to morrow (by God's grace) I will humble my ſelf before his Majeſty in faſting and prayer, and hope that God will ſtir up ſome other to join with me in ſpirit, though few or none in perſon do, only one I am aſſured of, the Priſoners know it: I leave it to them to join or not, as God moves them; but if ever men will faſt and pray, I think it is now more than time to do it.* The Superſcription was this: *To my very loving and reverend Friend, Maſter* C. Note. Note.

He dealt alſo (about this matter) with another Gentleman of the Laity, in one of whoſe Letters written in anſwer to *Coppinger's*, the 18th of the fifth Month (meaning thereby J. T. *a Lay Gentleman, his Letter to* Coppinger, *inti-*

mating caution about ſome ſingular Courſe or ſpecial Practice.

thereby *May*) I find theſe words of ſome mark. *I confeſs* (ſaith he) *I heard ſome buz abroad of a ſole and ſingular courſe, that either you or ſome other had plotted in his head.* And a little after thus: *I would wiſh you, and all that bear good will to the holy Cauſe in this perilous Age of ours, to take both your eyes in your hands (as they ſay) and to be ſure of your ground and warrant before you ſtrive to put in execution.*

Strive to put in execution.

Beſides theſe and ſome others, he inſtanted both by word and Letters (in *Eaſter* Term laſt) about this buſineſs, a certain Gentleman. In his firſt Letter to the ſaid Gentleman, dated the 19th of *May* laſt, *Coppinger* promiſeth to him *in the name of the Lord, a recompence in the life to come, for that in the Star-chamber he feared God more than Man, in ſuch a glorious Action, ſo pleaſing to God, ſo behoveful to his Church, which ſhall alſo remain of record here to all poſterity.* And a little after thus: *If after your own holy private Prayer you find any deſire of ſpeech with me, let me intreat you, either to ſend this Letter to M.* Cartwright, *or rather (if you can) carry it unto him,* &c. The ſecond Letter which he writ to the ſaid Lawyer the 21ſt of *May* (they having in the mean time conferred together) was thus word by word. *Let thy Spirit (O gracious Father) direct us now and for ever, in all our ways, eſpecially in thoſe, whereby greateſt honour may redound to thy glorious Majeſty, moſt benefit to thy Church, and moſt danger to thine Enemies.*

Coppinger *comforteth a Gentleman cenſured in Star-chamber for the Cauſe.*

Good

Good Sir, and my loving Brother in the Lord, though ſuch as are admitted to conſult with God, and have by prayer and meditation much familiarity and acquaintance with his holy Majeſty, need not doubt of good ſucceſs in all things which he ſetteth them a work in, (though Satan *and his Vaſſals croſs their courſe, and hinder their labour by all the means they can) yet is it alſo neceſſary that while we remain in the fellowſhip and communion of the Saints, that we communicate one with another, that as loving Children we may all join together, to help each other, to be doers of our heavenly Father's will here on Earth, as the Angels do it in the Heavens. The conſcience which I had hereof, enforced me to write unto you lately, and the like moved you to ſpeak with me upon that Letter. And truly I did obſerve many things (in that little time we ſpent together) were ſaid and done, which might move either of us to praiſe our good God, and to cheer us up, to further ſo holy an Action as now is in hand, which muſt needs ſpeed well in the end, becauſe it is the Lord's own work. And if we adventure our ſelves to do him ſervice here, he will reward elſewhere. You may be bold, for you have the warrant of the Word, the allowance of the State, and you walk in your own Calling: But I am to be fearful and circumſpect, becauſe the Dangers I enter into be infinite, my Courſe miſliked (though unknown) becauſe it is extraordinary; which Callings be ceaſed in all mens opinion of judgment, and have not (of long time) been heard of, or to be hoped for, but where the Word is not preached at all, or the*

Note.

Church

Church in a great waſte, which no body dare affirm our Church of England *to be. Wherefore it ſeemeth that every ſtep that I ſhall make herein, ſhall be upon thorns, and therefore I am to fear pricking: Yet for all this I am not without hope, neither is the ſame grounded but by good warrant. The end why I write unto you, is this, to intreat you to give thanks to thoſe holy men all on my behalf, who are now in queſtion. I have reaped much benefit from them, by their carriage towards me, though they know it not: For I durſt not (in regard of danger which might grow to them) viſit any of them, ſince I found my ſelf carried with a zeal to do ſomewhat in the ſame Cauſe, for which they ſuffer. If by ſome effects hereafter I may ſhew it, that is it which I deſire to do, and in the mean time do what I can to perſuade the Saints, that in this Action I ſeek God's glory, and not mine own. I have been heretofore put back and diſſuaded from attempting any thing (leſt I marred all) by the wiſeſt, the learnedeſt, the zealouſeſt and holieſt Preachers of this City, great Cauſes and weighty Reaſons moving thereunto. But yet this will not make me leave it, but ſtill I am enforced (by little and little) to labour to make my ſelf fit to take upon me the managing of it. Wherefore, if it pleaſe you to ſhew the other Letter and this, and beſeech them from me to lay them before the Lord, when they ſhall meet and join together in prayer: And if the Lord's Spirit ſhall aſſure their Spirits, that he hath been, is, and will be with me in this Action (how hard ſoever it ſeemeth to be) let me by their means be vouchſafed this favour, that I may*

Note.

be

be allowed conference with the Preachers of the City: which Sute I make not for that I would ſeek to have approbation from them, or any other living Creature, but from God himſelf: Or that I purpoſe to do that which heretofore I have been adviſed unto; namely, acquaint them with the Courſes (which I purpoſe by God's aſſiſtance to take in hand) whereby great danger might grow to them, and little good to me: But that my carriage towards them, may witneſs unto them the humility of my mind, and lowlineſs of my ſpirit, and care and conſcience not to enter into the matter, without offer to have my Gifts examined; and if they ſhall be ſuppoſed to be ſuch as the Church may have uſe of, then let all holy means be uſed, which ſhall be adviſed to be fit to be done in ſuch a dangerous time, and weighty Action. So beſeeching God to govern us in all our ways, and preſerve us in all our dangers, and ſupply us with whatſoever we ſtand in need of, I humbly and heartily commend you to God, this 21ſt day of May, 1591. Note.

The effect of the Speeches which *Coppinger* had with him at their Conference (as the ſaid Gentleman himſelf reported) was to commend the Cauſe of the Preachers committed, to incourage him to the defence of it; adding, that it was the truth of God, and that in the end it would prevail. Then the ſaid *Coppinger* began to declare unto him his Revelations, his great faſting and prayer, and how God had indued him with an extraordinary grace of Prayer, Perſuaſion or

Coppinger incourageth the ſaid Gentleman to perſevere in defence of the Cauſe.

He declares to him his Revelations and extraordinary Gifts and Calling touching the Reformation of the Church.

Prophecy: And that God had appointed him (as he was perſuaded) to reveal the will of God touching the *reformation* of his Church, that he had an *extraordinary* Calling to do good to the Church, and what ſeveral conflicts he had in himſelf before he yielded to this *extraordinary* motion or calling from God. Therefore his Requeſt was, That by the ſaid Gentleman's means, his Gifts and Calling might be tried and allowed by thoſe godly Preachers, *&c.* What the Preachers and others that were conferred with, anſwered to *Coppinger* herein, and whether more dutifully to the Eſtate, than warily; ſo as they might neither (as they thought) endanger themſelves, nor kill or diſcourage the Zeal of that their Brother, in ſo pretended holy a Cauſe, may partly by that which is afore ſpoken appear, and we may then believe them when they ſhall tell us the whole truth thereof.

He deſires that his Gifts and Calling may be tried and allowed by the Preachers.

A cold Anſwer from ſome.

But how ſlender and cold diſcouragement he found with ſome Preachers of *London* (with whom he dealt) touching his fantaſtical *extraordinary* Calling, and dangerous Plots, may alſo appear by theſe words found in a Letter of his, *viz. Good Maſter* L. *as Maſter E's former carriage in this Action (which ſtandeth me much upon to deal adviſedly in) did ſomewhat trouble me, ſo his Chriſtian and loving Anſwer (delivered now by you from him unto me) doth much comfort me, though by reaſon of ſome particular buſineſs (which I muſt neceſſarily follow) I cannot attend till* Friday *in the Afternoon,*

noon, or Saturday *any part of the day.* And after in the ſame Letter, thus: Satan *by his Angelical wiſdom (which he ſtill retaineth) doth many times prevail with the holieſt to make them fear good ſucceſs in the beſt Cauſes, in regard of the lets and hindrances which himſelf layeth in the way. It cannot be denied but that the Cauſe is good, which I deſire to be an Actor in: But it is ſaid by ſome, that it is impoſſible that I ſhould be fit to meddle therein.* So that here a Chriſtian and loving Anſwer to his great comfort is given, further conference by ſpeech is offered, and the Courſe not ſo much miſliked, as the Succeſs only is doubted by reaſon of his unfitneſs that was to be an Actor in it.

A further Conference. The Courſe not miſliked, but Succeſs only doubted from his unfitneſs.

But what Reſolution herein was alſo returned from the Preachers of Foreign Parts to this Caſe of Conſcience propounded by *Coppinger*, may hereby (not unprobably) be gathered. *Arthington* at one of his Examinations confeſſed, that *Penry* ſent a Letter unto him forth of *Scotland*, wherein he ſignified, that *Reformation* (for ſo they ſpeak) muſt ſhortly be erected in *England*: And herein he ſaid, that he took *Penry* to be a Prophet. Now it is ſure that *Penry* conveyed himſelf privily into *England*, and was lurking about *London* at the ſelf-ſame time when theſe other *Prophets* aroſe in *Cheapſide*, attending (as ſeemeth) the fulfilling of this his *Prophecy* alſo by their means.

Penry *writes to* Arthington *from* Scotland, *that Reformation muſt be ſet up in* England.

How dutifully and adviſedly thoſe that be Subjects have dealt, which (having intelli-

gence hereof) did conceal it, till it burſt forth of it ſelf, with apparent danger to her Majeſty and the whole State, may thus be gathered. For by this Conceit of *Coppinger*'s (you hear) it is pretended and ſurmiſed, that a commendable Cauſe, a Cauſe to be defended, yea the very truth of God, (which muſt prevail) is by the State ſuppreſſed and kept under: That it is the will of God to have ſuch a Reformation: That impeachment of it is offered by the *Queen*, *Counſel* and *Nobles*: That this is a great ſin meet to be repented of by them: That they muſt be brought to this repentance: That the penalty againſt any of them that refuſe to be brought, is to be detected as Traytors, an offence deſerving death: That this muſt be done out of hand: That the will of God (in great favour for the good of his *Church*) was revealed to him in this behalf, being a man of much faſting, prayer, rare gifts, a Prophet, an *extraordinary* man, with an *extraordinary* Calling; ſuch as was not to be judged of, or diſcerned by meer ordinary men, and whereinto he entred not raſhly, or on a ſudden, but after many conflicts with himſelf before his yielding to God's *extraordinary* motion and calling: But ſubmitting himſelf nevertheleſs, to have his Gifts and Calling tried and allowed of, by the beſt reformed Preachers, and therefore not worthy to be ſuſpected, or diſcredited: That the way to bring them to this repentance was a ſecret Myſtery, ſuch as thoſe Preachers

The concealing of this Deſign dangerous to the State.

Coppinger *calls it the Cauſe and Truth of God, which muſt go on, and to oppoſe it is a ſin deſerving death.*

That this was revealed to him as a Prophet, and not to be diſcredited.

and

and others whom he conferred with (albeit they held it a work to be wiſhed at God's hands) yet by his talk gathered the manner of bringing it in, to be ſo dangerous, as that they feared the ſucceſs, and refuſed to be made acquainted with the particular ways and means which he had plotted to effect it. Thereby making choiſe rather that *Coppinger* ſhould venture to put it in practiſe (if he remained reſolute herein, which they found by him) of what dangerous conſequence ſoever ſuch a way might be, than that they, by bewraying of him to Authority, ſhould be any means to break off and prevent his Reſolution, or quench his Zeal. And thus (with opinion of ſafety to themſelves) they merchandized the hazard of their Friend's life, or elſe the rearing of Sedition in the Realm, with the hope that ſecretly they nouriſhed, to have the *Diſcipline* (which they dream of) erected.

The Preachers thought the ways of effecting of it dangerous, and refuſed to be made acquainted with them, but conſent he ſhould run the hazard.

Thus *Coppinger* (remaining ſtill more confirmed and ſetled in this vein) by his Pew-fellow *Wigginton*, about *Eaſter*-Term laſt, being (as is aforeſaid) brought acquainted with *Hacket* (as with a moſt holy man) ſoon after would needs bring *Arthington* alſo acquainted with him, as one, whom (upon ſo ſmall knowledge) he had obſerved to be a very rare man. For this purpoſe he ſent for *Arthington* to Dinner or Supper unto *Lawſon*'s Houſe, near to *Paul*'s Gate, where *Arthington* met firſt with *Hacket*, together with another, whom he calleth a godly man: Of

Coppinger *brought acquainted with* Hacket *and* Arthington.

whoſe ordinary talk then had, *Arthington* liked very well; but had (as he ſaith) at that time no further conference with him. After which time, *Arthington* diſcontinued from the City, and remained in *Yorkſhire* until *Trinity* Term, leaving *Hacket* and *Coppinger* behind him, plotting of their purpoſes together: What Purpoſes they had, what Counſel they entred into, and what Conferences they entertained betwixt themſelves, and with others, by the Events enſuing, will beſt be diſcovered. After this *Hacket* ſtayed not long in *London*, but deſired *Coppinger* at his departure, to write unto him what ſucceſs *J. T.* had, and withal aſſuring him, that whenſoever he ſhould write for him, he the ſaid *Hacket* would ſtreightway come up again. Hereupon *Coppinger* writ unto him firſt at the end of *Eaſter* Term, and after again very earneſtly to be at *London* three days before the beginning of *Trinity* Term laſt, but he could not be here ſo ſoon by three or four days. When he was come, he lodged the firſt night at *Iſlington*; but ſent his Horſe down again into the Country, as purpoſing to ſtay long in *London*. Then after a night or two (one of which nights he lodged at the ſaid *Lawſon*'s Houſe by *Wiggington*'s direction) he was provided of a Chamber and of his Board at one *Ralph Kaye*'s Houſe, in *Knight-rider-ſtreet*, by *Coppinger*'s means, and at his Charges, for he coſt *Coppinger* there Eleven Shillings by the Week: But *Kayes* waxing weary of him (in part for that he feared

Arthington *retires into* Yorkſhire.

Hacket *goes alſo into the Country.*

Coppinger *ſends for him to* London, *and provides him Chamber and Board.*

feared *Hacket* was a Conjurer or Witch, in that the Camomil (he ſaith) in his Garden where *Hacket* either trod or ſate, did wither up the next night, and waxed black) therefore *Coppinger* provided at his own charges likewiſe another Room for him, at one *Walker*'s Houſe by *Broken Wharf*, where he remained until his apprehenſion.

Whilſt *Hacket* was at *Kaye*'s Houſe, he uſed before and after Meals to pray (as ſeemed) moſt devoutly and zealouſly, but never for the *Queen's Majeſty*. *Hacket* alſo told *Kayes*, That if all the Divines in *England* ſhould pray for Rain, if he ſaid the word, yet it ſhould not rain. Hacket *leaves the Queen out of his Prayers.*

The firſt of the aforeſaid Letters which *Coppinger* writ unto *Hacket* to move him to come up, doth contain matter of note beſides, not unfit to be known. *Brother* Hacket (ſaith he) *the burthen which God hath laid upon me (you being the Inſtrument to make me bold and courageous, where I was fearful and faint) is greater than I can bear without your help here, though I have it where you are. The workings of his holy ſpirit in me, ſince your departure, be mighty and great: My zeal of ſpirit burneth like fire, ſo that I cannot contain my ſelf, and conceal his mercies towards me.* And a little after in the ſame Letter, *Maſter* Thr. *is put off till the next Term, the zealous Preachers (as it is thought) are to be in the* Star-Chamber *to morrow, the Lord by his holy Spirit be with them: My ſelf (if I can get in) am moved to be there: And I fear (if Sentence with ſeverity be given) I ſhall* Coppinger's *Letter to* Hacket. Note.

be forced (in the name of the great and fearful God of Heaven) to proteſt againſt it: My deſire is, that you haſt up ſo ſoon as you can; your Charges ſhall be born by me. And ſomewhat after, thus: *If his moſt holy Spirit direct you to come, come: If not, ſtay: But write with ſpeed, and convey your Letter, and incloſe it in a Letter to him who brought you and me acquainted* (viz. Wigginton) *put not your name to it, for diſcovery: Direct your Letter thus, To my loving Brother in the Lord, give theſe my Letters: I put to no name, but the matter you know, which ſufficeth. Pray that the Lord may reign, and that his Subjects may obey: That all Inſtruments whatſoever, that ſhall be uſed, may be furniſhed with ſuch gifts and graces as every one have, or ſhall have need of: That it may appear, that the Action (now in hand) is his own; and therefore he will provide ſafety for his holy ones, and deſtruction for thoſe who are veſſels of wrath; who have accompliſhed the number of their ſins, which call for vengeance from Heaven.* Theſe Letters *Hacket* carried to *Pamplin*, Schoolmaſter of *Oundell*, to be read unto him, for that himſelf could neither write nor read: But I have not yet heard that he complained thereof to any in Authority.

Arthington *returns to* London, Coppinger *viſits him, and magnifies* Hacket *to him as the Holieſt man that ever*

When *Arthington* alſo about the midſt of *Trinity* Term laſt, was returned to *London*, *Coppinger* (hearing thereof) came to his Lodging, and then (with many words) extolled and magnified *Hacket* unto him, for the holieſt man that ever was, *Chriſt* only excepted, and one that travelled (together with

with him) for the good of the *Queen* and the Land, but after an *extraordinary* manner, and not both by one means. And albeit *Arthington* (as now he ſaith) deſired them to keep their Secrets to themſelves, and not to trouble him with them, (who had other buſineſs to attend;) yet *Coppinger* importuned him ſo, as he could not avoid, but yield to hear *Hacket* pray before them (as a man of a ſingular Spirit, albeit utterly unlearned of the Book.) The firſt Prayer of his (that *Arthington* heard) was about four or five Weeks before their apprehenſion. All which Prayers conceived by *Hacket* (even ſince his apprehenſion) the ſaid *Arthington* praiſed to be ſo divine, ſweet and heavenly, that thereby he was drawn into a great admiration of him. In all the Prayers that *Hacket* made in his preſence, *Arthington* obſerved this difference from other mens: That he uſually therein *deſired the Lord to confound him, if he did not ſeek only his honour and glory in all things:* Which *Arthington* marking from time to time in him, and ſeeing him ſtill to be ſo perfectly ſound and very well, was thereby drawn (together with *Coppinger*'s words and experience of him) to reckon and eſteem of him, as of a moſt holy man.

was, except Chriſt.

Arthington *ſeems not deſirous of their Secrets.*

Coppinger *perſuades him to hear* Hacket's extempore *Prayers, which he admires as divine, and eſteems him as a moſt holy man.*

A horrible execration uſed in his Prayer.

This Leſſon of wiſhing themſelves confounded, his ſaid two Scholars (by imitation) did ſo perfectly learn of him, that to the great aſtoniſhment and horror of ſuch (that afterward examined them) they uſed this Execration: *Wiſhing themſelves confounded*

The ſame uſed by the other two in their Affirmations.

ed and damned, if they ſaid not the truth, in every matter whereof they made any aſſeveration, and wherein they deſired to be credited, thinking (as *Arthington* confeſſeth) that whatſoever the Spirit (as he fanſied) told him was a truth, he was bound to bind it upon his Salvation or Damnation. Theſe being joined with the Relation of certain extreme Torments, which *Hacket* had ſignified unto them that he ſuffered, not only outwardly by the inſtigation of certain noble and worſhipful Perſons (as he untruly made them believe) but more grievouſly a great deal (he ſaid) by ſuffering whatſoever either Devils in Hell, Sorcerers or Witches in Earth, could practiſe againſt him (all which he pretended to have endured for trial and proof, that the Goſpel was the true Religion againſt Popery, and all other Sects) did ſo deeply aſtoniſh, or rather infatuate them; that (after great faſting and prayer uſed, which faſting they uſually performed on the Sabboth days) they all did reſolutely conclude, That if *Hacket* indured in truth all theſe torments and practices againſt him, for ſo holy an end, no doubt he was a man, which ſhould not only eſtabliſh the Goſpel in all Kingdoms, but all *Kings* and *Princes* ſhould alſo yield their Scepters unto him, and he ſhould be eſtabliſhed chief King over all *Europe*. Reaſoning thus with themſelves, that ſurely the Lord had ſome great good to be done by him that had indured ſo much for his ſake.

Hacket pretends to ſuffer extream inward torments from the Devil, as well as outward from men, for trial of the truth of the Goſpel, which they conclude he is to eſtabliſh in all Kingdoms, and that all Scepters are to be yielded to him.

Now,

Now, this was the Opinion, which to have firmly planted in them two (as indeed it was firſt in *Coppinger*, and afterward in *Arthington*) was the main ſcope and drift (as may ſeem) of all *Hacket*'s cunning counterfeiting of ſo much Holineſs, Piety, Zeal and Religion.

This was the main drift of Hacket*'s cunning, and it ſucceeded.*

To work this, he handled his Actions ſo warily with them, that *Coppinger* ſeriouſly once avouched unto *Arthington*, how himſelf had by good experience found, that God would deny unto *Hacket* nothing which he prayed for or deſired, and namely proteſted, that *Hacket* begged of God in a Drought (that was not long afore their apprehenſion) a Shower of Rain, and that it was preſently ſent in good abundance; *Coppinger* alſo ſo firmly believed *Hacket*, that he told his own Man *Emerſon*, how *Hacket* being impriſoned, the Bolts would (often) fall off his heels miraculouſly.

Coppinger *avouched that God would deny* Hacket *nothing.*

But for proof that ſuch incredible Torments were indeed ſuffered by *Hacket*, he appealed herein to ſome of the Nobility, and to divers others both of worſhip and good credit. This did *Coppinger* further confirm unto *Arthington*, ſaying, that Maſter *Wigginton* alſo did juſtify the truth of the Torments that *Hacket* ſuffered, and could do it with a hundred honeſt Witneſſes more, if need required. And *Arthington* himſelf alſo once heard *Wigginton* pitifully tell, how great and extreme Torments *Hacket* had endured.

Coppinger *and* Wigginton *atteſt to the truth of* Hacket*'s pretended Torments.*

But

But being asked by them, why he was ſo tormented, and how theſe could tend to prove the Goſpel to be the only true Religion? *Hacket* anſwered them thus: That his Tormentors (the better to colour their lewd purpoſes and malice) gave out and ſurmiſed him to be out of his wits, but the truth was (ſaid he) that being once at Table with one *G. H.* an obſtinate Papiſt, and reaſoning which was the true Religion (I defending this which we now profeſs to be the truth, againſt *Popery* and all other Sects) amongſt other Speeches, I proteſted upon my Damnation, that this was the truth, and withal prayed, that I might ſink preſently down into Hell, if it was not ſo: And that, if he the ſaid *G. H.* would ſay ſo much for his Religion, if he did not ſink preſently into Hell, then would I take *Popery* to be the true Religion. But he refuſing ſo to do, and being greatly moved thereby againſt me, complotted with a Knight (a neer Kinſman of his) and with another Gentleman (being a Papiſt) and with ſundry others, who found ſuch means, as that they procured Devils to be raiſed, Sorcerers, Witches and Enchanters (all which (ſaid he) I know and can name, and mind one day, to help to burn them) to work upon my Body, with intent to make me call back my ſaid words of proteſtation, concerning the truth of this Religion, which if I would not do (ſaid they) but could endure the Torments that they would inflict, then they all would be of my Religion,

Hacket's ſtrange way to prove the truth of Religion againſt Popery, &c.

Religion, and would make me *Emperor* over all *Europe.*

This Tale to them that had minds afore prepared, and took *Hacket* by reaſon of his moſt earneſt Proteſtations, Prayers, ſhew of zeal pretended, favour with God, and ſuch like, to be a man that would not tell an untruth for all the world, ſeemed no way unprobable, or to be diſcredited: So that theſe three principal Actors having as well among themſelves, as with others, often conferred hereabouts (both by word and writing) were by the midſt of *Trinity* Term become moſt reſolute, for the advancing of their deſignments. For in a Letter written by *Coppinger* (about that time) to the aforeſaid *J. Thr.* it is thus contained. *Mine own dear Brother, myſelf, and my two Brethren, who lately were together with you in* Knight-rider's Street, *do much deſire conference with you, which will aſk ſome time. The buſineſs is the Lord's own, and he doth deal in it himſelf, in a ſtrange and extraordinary manner in poor and ſimple Creatures. Much is done ſince you did ſee us, which you will rejoice to hear of, when we ſhall meet, and therefore I beſeech you (ſo ſoon as you receive this Letter) haſten an Anſwer in writing to my Siſter's Houſe; therein advertiſe (I beſeech you) when I may come to ſpeak with you; for delays are dangerous, and ſome of the great Enemies begin to be ſo purſued by God, as they are at their wits end. The Lord make us thankful for it, who keep us ever to himſelf, to do his will and not ours.* By occaſion alſo of *hearing Maſter* Chark

His Tale credited.

Coppinger's *Letter to* J. Thr.

Coppinger's *Leter to* Chark *about his extraordinary Courſe for the advancement of Chriſt's Kingdom.*

Chark *on a* Friday *about that time at the* Black-Fryers, Coppinger *ſaith, he was thereupon moved by God's Spirit to write unto him a Letter,* which beareth date the 9th day of *July* laſt. In which Letter (amongſt other things) thus he writeth unto him. *I do not deny, good Sir, but that I have now (a good long time) taken a ſtrange and extraordinary courſe, ſuch as hath offered occaſion of ſuſpicion, of my not only doing hurt to my ſelf, but alſo to the beſt ſort of men now in queſtion, and to the Cauſe it ſelf. But by what warrant I have done this, that is all: For if the Holy Ghoſt have been my Warrant, and carrieth me into ſuch Actions, as are differing from others of great note in the Church of God, what fleſh and blood dare ſpeak againſt me? This is it that I deſire at your hands, and at all the reſt of God's Servants, that you forbear to cenſure me and ſuch others, as ſhall deal extraordinarily with me in the Lord's buſineſs committed to our charge, and judge of us by the effects that follow; which if you hereafter ſee to be wonderful great, then are all ordinary men (placed in Callings within this Land) to fear, and to call themſelves to examination before the Juſtice Seat of God, and ſee whether they have walked faithfully before God and man, in ſeeking the ſalvation of the Souls of the People, and the advancement of Chriſt's Kingdom, and the overthrow of Antichriſt's. And if all and every one in their places ſhall be forced to confeſs, to have failed in not diſcharge of their duties, let them acknowledge their ſin and repent, before Plagues and Puniſhments fall upon them. The waſte of*

Note.

the

the Church cannot be denied to be great, ſo that there is place for extraordinary men (though temporizing Chriſtians will not admit this) therefore God's mercies ſhall appear to be wonderful great, if amongſt us he have raiſed up ſuch, as I know he hath, and hereafter I doubt not (by God's grace) but I, with the help of the reſt, ſhall be able to avow againſt all gainſayers whatſoever. My deſire heretofore hath been to have counſel and direction from others: But now (by comfortable experience) I find that the Action (which the Lord hath drawn me into) is his own, and he will direct it himſelf by the Holy Ghoſt, and have the full honour of it, and therefore I wait upon him, and yet moſt heartily crave the Prayers of the Saints, that they will beſeech God to bleſs all his Servants, that he hath ſet awork in his own buſineſs. And I further beſeech you, to ſhew this Letter to Maſter Traverſe, *and Maſter* Egerton, *and all the reſt of the godly Preachers in the City, and judge charitably of me and others, and let every one look to his own Calling, that therein he may deal faithfully, and let us judge our ſelves, and not judge one another, further than we have warrant.* After this Letter, it hapned that M. *Chark* preached in the ſame place again the next *Sunday* after, at which time *Coppinger* took himſelf to be particularly meant by one part of the Sermon. Whereupon he wrote a Letter to another Preacher (as I do gather) the *Thurſday* after, *viz.* the 15th of *July*; whereby he thus ſignifieth. *M.* Chark *told the People, that there were ſome Perſons ſo deſperate, that they*

Orders it to be ſhewn to Traverſe, Egerton, *and the other Preachers.*

they would willingly thruſt themſelves upon the Rocks of the Land, and Waves of the Sea. This I took to be ſpoken principally to my ſelf, and therefore I thought good to advertiſe you, that he ſpake the truth in thoſe words; but he touched not me, but himſelf, and the reſt of the Miniſters of the Land, who have not only run deſperately themſelves upon the Rocks and Waves, but carried the whole Ship, whereby they all be in danger of Shipwreck, and ſhould have periſhed, if the Lord had not immediately called three of his Servants to help to recover it, who are not only ſent from God to his Church here, but alſo elſewhere, through the World. My Calling is ſpecially to deal with Magiſtrates. Another hath to do with Miniſters, who hath written a Letter to you of the City, but it cannot be delivered hardly this day. The other third is the chiefeſt (who can neither write nor read) *for he is the Lord's Executioner of his moſt holy will.* This Letter is thus ſubſcribed, *The Lord's Meſſenger of Mercy*, Ed. Coppinger.

He pretends to be chiefly called to deal with Magiſtrates.

Theſe three therefore ſtrongly fancying to themſelves ſuch *extraordinary* Callings, and ſtanding reſolute by all means to advance that (which they falſly call *Reformation*) and being thus ſeduced and bemoped by *Hacket*, it is no marvel though they entred further (as by degrees) into many lewd, dangerous, and traiterous Attempts.

For firſt having conceived mortal hatred againſt two great and worthy *Counſellors* of this Eſtate (who they thought would not a little ſtop the courſe they had taken, and hinder

hinder the purpoſe which they purſued:) *Coppinger* therefore (by *Hacket*'s advice) directed ſeveral Letters unto ſome Honourable Perſonages, whereby he ſignified, that certain Treaſons were intended even againſt her *Majeſty*'s own Sacred Perſon; meaning after to appeach thoſe two thereof; and hoping by this means, either to take them away, or at leaſt their Credits with her *Majeſty*, until he and his Complices might bring their Purpoſes to ſome better paſs; or elſe (by this colourable Pretence having acceſs and opportunity) to have executed ſome wicked Practice againſt her Royal Perſon. The diſcovery, avouching and proof of theſe ſuppoſed Treaſons, *Hacket* and he did take (eſpecially upon themſelves.)

Coppinger *having hatred to two Counſellors of State, pretends to impeach them of Treaſon.*

The firſt two Letters that (I find) *Coppinger* writ to the ſaid honourable Perſonages about this pretended matter of Treaſon to be diſcovered, was the third day of *June* laſt; both to this purpoſe, To have them acquaint her *Majeſty*, that intelligence was given unto him of ſome Treaſon intended againſt her own Sacred Perſon, but naming no particular. In the one of them, he incloſed a Letter of his to her *Majeſty*, and certain Petitions, which he would have had to be offered up to her Highneſs, being to this effect: "That he might have leave to entertain the Action of ſuch diſcovery; that "as matters ſhould come to light, he might "reſort to a certain worthy *Counſellor* (by "him there named) to acquaint him there-

He writes a Letter to them, with one incloſed to the Queen.

" with, and to have his Counſel and di-
" rection: That he the ſaid *Coppinger* might
" confer and examine *Jeſuits*, and all Pri-
" ſoners (ſuſpected or condemned of Trea-
" ſon) about theſe matters, in the preſence
" of certain others: That for better further-
" rance of his Service, he might have this
" favour to ſtay judgment, or at leaſt exe-
" cution againſt condemned Perſons for
" Crimes capital or ſmaller, until her Ma-
" jeſty might have account given of the
" cauſe of his ſo doing: That he might be
" pardoned for ſo bold an Attempt, if in
" over-much fear of danger to her Sacred
" Perſon, he had, or afterward ſhould go
" too far, and not effect that in the end,
" which he hoped to do: And laſtly, That
" this matter might be concealed from all
" men. But the ſaid honourable Perſonage finding this to be an unlikely and ſtrange Courſe to be yielded unto (as may be gathered by the Anſwer, and by the other Letters) directed him to a more ſound way, *viz.* To learn firſt the grounds perfectly, to acquaint none other with the matter, and to do it ſpeedily. Hereupon the 8th of the ſaid *June*, he addreſſed another Letter to the ſame Perſonage, encloſing therein a Letter written to him from *Hacket*, and dated the laſt day of *May*, and another Letter of his own to her Majeſty, to have been delivered unto her Highneſs. His Letter to the ſaid honourable Perſonage, is to commend the Writer of that Letter incloſed, not naming him, (for

His ſecond Letter to them, with one of Hacket's *incloſed; animating him to do the Lord's buſineſs.*

Coppinger

Coppinger had raced out both *Hacket*'s Name, and the Name of *Oundell* from whence it came) as a Man able and willing to do her Majeſty ſome principal ſervice, to offer their attendances to come before her Majeſty, and to urge the delivery of the Letters, for that the matter (he ſaid) admitted no delays. The Letter from *Hacket* is nothing but an inciting and animating of *Coppinger* to perform the Lord's buſineſs (he had in hand) by many holy and devout words and hypocritical Alluſions to certain Stories of the Scripture. *Coppinger*'s Letter to her *Majeſty* commendeth the Inditer of that incloſed, for a Man beloved of God, and fearing him unfeignedly, and one enabled (by God) to do her Highneſs ſome ſpecial ſervice: He alſo humbly deſireth thereby, that they two might appear before her own Princely Perſon, in the preſence only of two certain Lords, and one Lady. But the ſaid honourable Perſonage ſent *Hacket*'s Letter again unto *Coppinger*, as of no moment for that purpoſe, and ſtayed the delivery of his Letter to her *Majeſty*, till ſome particular intelligence might be had, to be firſt delivered to her Highneſs. The ſame day *Coppinger* alſo writ two ſeveral Letters to the ſame two Lords, in whoſe preſence he and *Hacket* deſired to come before her *Majeſty*, and to deliver their Intelligence; this he did to adverti ſe them hereof aforehand. That which is written to the one of them, mentioneth a Supplication which *Coppinger* ſent (the day afore)

Coppinger ſends another Letter to the Queen, and preſſeth to get to her Preſence, pretending ſome ſpecial ſervice.

afore) unto his Lordſhip to make paſſage to ſome better ſervice to her *Majeſty*, which he hoped ſhould be done ſhortly to her Highneſs's good liking, and to his Lordſhip's great honour, for that he ſhould be the chief Actor therein. Upon ſome anſwer returned from the Lady afore-mentioned, craving ſome Particulars of that which they meant to diſcover, *Coppinger* writ to *Hacket* (being in *London*) to urge him unto ſome more ſpecial point of Intelligence: Whereunto *Hacket* (the ſaid 8th of *June*) anſwering by Letter to ſmall purpoſe, and ſubſcribing his Letter thus, *As you find me, ſo call me*: *Coppinger* therefore returned in anſwer another Letter preſently unto him, whereby he ſignified, that *Hacket* muſt manifeſt ſomewhat more plainly of ſome practice worth the revealing, otherwiſe they both ſhould worthily fall into her *Majeſty*'s indignation; for that which he had then writ, would not ſatisfy her *Majeſty* and the State, concerning the danger which *Hacket* ſuppoſed to be coming upon the Land, and wherewith he ſeemed to be acquainted.

Coppinger, *jealous that what he had to reveal would be ſlighted, writes to* Hacket *for more important Intelligence.*

Upon ſuch overture (as afore is touched) made to one of the ſaid Lords, he had the ſaid two Appeachers before him on the 10th of *June*: but finding *Hacket*'s demeanour of himſelf very ſtrange, and their Imputations as frivolous, he diſmiſſed them (as is ſaid) without further ado, to their great diſcontentment. Hereupon *Coppinger* (in ſtomach ſo far as he durſt) writ another Letter to the

Both of them are examin'd by one of the Lords, who finds little in their Information, ſo ſhakes them off.

the ſaid Nobleman the 11th of *June*: Hereby he ſignified, That were it not that he had been before acquainted with the Graces and Gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, which he did aſſure himſelf to be in *Hacket* in an *extraordinary* manner, he ſhould have eſteemed of him (by his behaviour) as his Lordſhip did. Therefore what trouble or danger ſoever might come to himſelf by it, he was reſolute to abide it; and further chargeth the ſaid *Nobleman* (in God's name) to deliver the Letters and Copies there incloſed to her *Majeſty*, ſignifying, that what puniſhment ſhould in that reſpect be allotted to him, or unto *Hacket*, they would undergo it, and not depart the City, till they might further underſtand what God would do therein. Sure it is, that (being thus ſhaken off by him) they grew extremely malicious alſo againſt the ſaid worthy Nobleman.

They thus ſlighted, grow malicious againſt him.

I find alſo a Copy of a Letter written in *Coppinger*'s hand, but meant to be ſent as from *Hacket*, unto her Excellent *Majeſty*; wherein (amongſt other things) he deſireth he may enjoy that which God hath appointed him, and then lewdly and falſly accuſeth and revileth two great and worthy *Counſellors*. In the end he ſaith, That *if he ſhould tell her the judgments of God that lie at her Gate (which the Lord hath ſhewed him) they would be over-fearful for her to endure, or to hear of. And if ſhe doubted of his ſending from the Lord, he willeth her to ask a Sign, and if he give it not, let him die.*

Coppinger *writes another Letter in* Hacket's *name to the Queen, threatning dreadful Judgments from God, and offers a Sign.*

They conſpire the death of ſome Lords of the Council, in caſe Judgment be given againſt ſome of their Preachers, then Priſoners for Miſdemeanors.

A ſecond courſe taken by them beſides the former Appeachments, was a Conſpiracy of the death of certain of the Lords of the *Council*, when they ſhould be at the Star-chamber, in caſe they ſhould give any judgment againſt certain that were (ſometime) Preachers, and are now Priſoners for Miſdemeanors perillous to the peaceable ſtate of the Realm, as is intended. That this deviliſh Purpoſe was rife amongſt them, may appear by a Letter ſent by *Coppinger* in *Trinity* Term laſt, unto the aforenamed *Lancaſter*. In which was contained to this effect, That *if the Lords ſhould give a hard cenſure againſt thoſe Parties (the next day) if God ſhewed not ſuch a fearful Judgment againſt ſome of thoſe Lords, as that ſome of them ſhould not go alive out of that place, then never truſt him.* And albeit ſome that ſaw this Letter, could not pick any further matter out of it, than *Coppinger*'s Conceit, that God (without ſome ſpeedy and miraculous Judgment from himſelf alone) would not ſuffer ſuch men to be puniſhed; yet *Lancaſter* (to whom it was directed) juſtly ſuſpected ſome further meaning, and that the concealing of it might be both accounted undutiful, and further alſo dangerous unto him, and therefore asked counſel of ſome more skilful than himſelf, whether he might ſafely ſuppreſs it, and tear the Letter in pieces.

Another Device they alſo had for preparing (as is ſuppoſed) of the minds of the People, and to ſtir them up to be in readineſs

neſs, which was by certain Seditious Letters that were purpoſely ſcattered five or ſix Nights afore, in many of the Streets of *London*, by ſome of theſe Actors, or by their Complices and Favourers. Likewiſe there was found in *Wigginton*'s Chamber (in the Priſon where he remaineth) about a thouſand printed Pamphlets of two ſorts; the one of *Predeſtination*, the other carrying an odd and needleſs Title to every man that knoweth but the Author. For it is entitled on the firſt ſide, in great Letters thus: *viz. The Fools bolt:* And immediately under that Title, this Sentence is ſet down worthy to be duly conſidered, with all his Circumſtances now apparent, *viz. Such as do ſurmiſe the complaint of Innocency to be revenge, and the report of Truth to be ſlander, ſhall never want the due reward of their groſs Error, whilſt Innocency and Truth ſhall endure.* On the other ſide of the Sheet the Title is, *A Fatherly Exhortation to a certain young Courtier.* The matter thereof is conceived into an halting Rime, roving lewdly not only at the Governors Eccleſiaſtical, and at other Miniſters, but alſo at ſundry having Civil Authority and high Places. Amongſt the reſt, the firſt two Staves and laſt Stave are moſt perillous, if ye reſpect the preſent Action theſe Perſons had in hand, their Opinions of this State, and the baſe Condition and State of the chief of them. The firſt are theſe, *viz.*

They ſcatter Seditious Letters among the People.

Great numbers of Printed Libels found in Wigginton's *Chamber.*

My Son if thou a Courtier ſue to be,
In flower of youth this Leſſon learn of me.
A Chriſtian true, although he be a Clown,
May teach a King to wear Scepter and Crown.

And in the laſt Stave are theſe, *viz.*

For God will ſure confound ſuch as deviſe
His Ordinance or Church to tyrannize, &c.

Wigginton *confeſſeth that they were all to be ſent to Women, and by them to be diſperſed.*

Theſe Papers *Wigginton* (by the means and help of one *Brown*) procured privily to be printed at *Whitſontide* laſt, and being examined touching them by her Majeſty's Council and others, he confeſſed, That they were all to be ſent to Women, the weaker Veſſels: *viz.* to Miſtreſs *L.* Miſtreſs *B.* and to I know not how many Miſtreſſes, by them to be diſperſed abroad; to the intent, that every one (to whom they might come) ſhould conceive of them as the Spirit ſhould move them. And *Hacket* alſo confeſſed, that a part of certain Writings which *Wigginton* and *Coppinger* framed, was, that *a Clown might teach a King to wear a Crown.*

Wigginton *in the Conſpiracy for advancing the* Diſcipline.

Now that *Wigginton* held intelligence in theſe matters with the Conſpirators, and that there was mutual and ordinary correſpondence betwixt him and them in all Plots for advancing of their *Diſcipline per fas & nefas* (beſides that which in this behalf hath been touched afore) is made alſo manifeſt by the confeſſion of *Arthington*, who ſaith, That

That about the 15th of *July*, or not long before, he heard *Hacket* ſinging of certain Songs, who then wiſhed that *Arthington* had alſo ſome of them: For it was a very ſpecial thing, and (ſaid he) *M. Wiggington* hath a great many of them.

Alſo *Coppinger* had once conference with *Wigginton* (in the preſence of *Arthington*) touching his *extraordinary* Calling. At what time it is pretended, that *Wigginton* refuſed to be made acquainted with the *manner* of *Coppinger's Secrets*; and that he uſed theſe Speeches to *Coppinger*, viz. *You are known to be an honeſt Gentleman, and ſworn to the Queen, and therefore I will not be acquainted with thoſe things which God hath revealed unto you for the good of your Sovereign.* And his Opinion of ſuch extraordinary Callings (ſet down under his own hand) doth elſewhere appear; whereby is argued, that he was made a common Oracle for ſuch *Fantaſticks*: That he knew the matter in generality, which by *Coppinger* was to be wrought upon the *Queen*, to bring her (forſooth) to repentance, howſoever he refuſed to know the particular manner of ſuch Secrets: That he acknowledged it to be good for the *Queen*, and yielded it (without ſcruple) to be revealed unto *Coppinger* from God, ſo that it could not be, but that *Coppinger* hereby was much animated to go forward in his conceived Wickedneſs. Beſides, *Wigginton* taketh knowledge (as appeareth by a Paper of his own handwriting found in his Chamber) that *Hacket* had

Hacket *defaceth the Queen's Arms, and uttereth dangerous words.*

had defaced the *Queen's Arms*, and had uttered dangerous words, importing himſelf to be a King, and his miſlike of all Kings now reigning, ſince his laſt coming to *London*. *Hacket* further declared unto M. *Young* on the 24th of *July*, that he was once (in company of two Gentlemen, and of Miſtreſs *Walker* and Miſtreſs *Lawſon*) with *Wiggington* in his Chamber, where and when he heard *Wigginton* ſay, That *if the Magiſtrates do not govern well, the People might draw themſelves together, and to ſee a Reformation.* This dangerous Opinion of his may be alſo gathered out of a Letter of his own hand-writing (found with him) being dated the ſixth of *November* laſt, wherein he thus writeth. M. *Cartwright* (ſaith he) *is in the* Fleet *for refuſal of the Oath, as I hear, and M. K. is ſent for, and ſundry worthy Miniſters are diſquieted, who have been ſpared long. So that we look for ſome bickering ere long, and then a battel, which cannot long endure.*

They deſign a Change in the Civil Government, as well as the Church.

A fourth Purpoſe of theirs was not only to make an alteration in the ſtate of Church-Government, and to plant in every Congregation their *Elderſhips*, or *Conſiſtory of Doctor, Paſtor*, and certain *Lay Elders*, with the Appurtenances; but alſo to change the Civil Policy of this Realm. For which conſideration, they meant to diſplace all the Lords and others of the Privy Council; therefore (in their Speeches and Writings touching theſe Counſellors) they uſed of late no Title of Honour, but their bare Names and Sir-

Sirnames, or elſe their Names with this addition; *Late L. Ch. or late L. Tr.* as if they were already diſauthoriſed, and in their ſteads they had nominated and ſet down certain others (in truth very honourable and worſhipful Perſons) that ſhould be Counſellors, of whom every honeſt man nevertheleſs is perſuaded, that they deteſt both theſe and all other ſuch Vile, Seditious and Fanatical Perſons and Courſes.

Coppinger (not long afore their riſing as it ſeemeth) penned a Letter to have been ſent to the one of the aforeſaid honourable Perſonages. In this Letter he chargeth a great and worthy *Counſellor* (uſing only his *Chriſtian* Name and Sirname) *that he, together with his helliſh and infernal Companions* (for ſo he raveth) *had committed Treaſon in the higheſt degree againſt her Majeſty.* He deſireth that honourable Perſonage to effect, that the ſaid *Counſellor, himſelf, and two others of the Lords Meſſengers, may be brought before the Queen's Majeſty; and if he be not proved a Traytor to God and her, then let me* (ſaith he) *for my Pride and Preſumption, be hanged at the Court Gates.* Then he exclaimeth againſt another great Counſellor (terming him but by his bare Name likewiſe) to whom he had ſent Letters and Copies to have been ſhewed to her *Majeſty*, and there ſheweth himſelf greatly offended with him; becauſe he was not (as he hoped) brought to her Royal preſence; adding thus thereto, *but he and the reſt* (ſaith he) *of her wicked Counſellors, and ungodly Magiſtrates,*

Coppinger *chargeth two Privy Counſellors with Treaſon.*

Note.

giſtrates, ſhall be forced to acknowledge, what they are worthy to have; the Lord pardon their Souls, for in their outward man they muſt be puniſhed, though they repent: And a little after, thus; I do adviſe alſo that every one of her Council be commanded to keep their Houſe or Chamber, for fear of ſtir or danger. Then he doth appoint to her *Majeſty* a new Council, adviſing that Wigginton (a man in more favour (he ſaith) with God, than any man of his Calling whatſoever) be commanded to be near her Highneſs, to pray to God, or to preach privately.

He appoints to her Majeſty a new Council, and recommends Wigginton *for her Chaplain.*

By the like reſolute vein *Arthington* alſo chargeth the ſaid *Counſellor* as deeply, and upon the like and greater penalty to himſelf, in a Supplication penned by him to have been ſent to her *Majeſty*. But I will give you a taſte how frivolouſly, and upon what fond Proofs he groundeth his Accuſation, to the end it may appear, that this was but a colourable Pretence, wherein they repoſed no great ſurety of ſucceſs, but hoped at length thereby to have brought themſelves and *Hacket* to her Majeſty's preſence. The iſſue he tendereth is this, That if in her Majeſty's preſence he prove not the ſaid Counſellor to be the moſt dangerous Enemy that was diſcovered ſince her Highneſs's Reign, then let his Body and Soul be for ever damned: Provided always, that if her Majeſty cannot (by his Evidence) judge him the ſaid Counſellor to be ſo bad as he makes report of him, yet that ſhe would give him the ſaid Arthington leave in her ſacred Preſence, to fight the Combat of Prayer with him, wherin, if

Arthington *chargeth the ſame Counſellor.*

His Fanatical Propoſal.

if it pleaſe him (ſaith Arthington) *I will firſt begin to pray againſt my ſelf, that if he be not as deeply guilty as I have charged him, then that God's Vengeance may preſently conſume me both Body and Soul into Hell for ever, which if it come to paſs, the Victory ſhall be his, and he return an Innocent. But if he ſee me leap up for joy, as one that hath diſcovered him to be a Traytor, then if he dare fall down in like ſort, and make the ſame Prayer, that the like Vengeance may fall upon himſelf, if he be ſo deeply guilty as I have charged him; and if God's Vengeance fall not upon him before he depart out of her preſence, let me be hang'd, drawn and quartered, for labouring to impeach a Counſellor's Credit; but if he dare not thus enter the liſts with me before her Majeſty, let him be holden guilty.*

New Trial by combat in Prayer.

Their laſt and moſt damnable Deſignment of all, was the deprivation of her Sacred Majeſty from her Crown and Dignity, and the deſtruction of her Royal Perſon, whom the Eternal God (in mercy) long preſerve, to the confuſion of all Seditious Wretches her Enemies of all ſorts.

Their laſt Deſign was the deſtruction of the Queen.

The very particular and principal means how theſe deviliſh Purpoſes were meant to be effected by them, *Arthington* now ſaith, that they were not opened unto him; pretending, that though the other two ſeemed willing to have imparted ſome of their Secrets unto him, yet himſelf was always unwilling to hear any of them. But for the ſpecial means that *Coppinger* had plotted to bring the Queen's *Majeſty* and Counſel to repentance, he

he ſaith that this was a ſecret Myſtery (as *Hacket* and *Coppinger* affirmed to him) which they would keep to themſelves, and were ſo enjoined of the Lord. But whether ſoever the way to effect theſe, was meant by ſome open violence, or ſecret practice; ſure it is, that popular Tumult was not the leaſt means they truſted of, to bring them to paſs, which they hoped to ſtir up by their pretence of ſo great holineſs, with calling the Realm to repentance in the open Streets of *London*, by offering joys and mercy to the Penitent, and by their Proclamation alſo then made in *Cheapſide*, as hereafter cometh to be declared.

Now that theſe their two laſt Purpoſes were indeed the principal and main ends which they propounded to themſelves (beſides that which by the way is noted already, and that which comes hereafter to be mentioned) let theſe few Proofs enſuing ſuffice. Firſt, for the alteration of the whole Government *Eccleſiaſtical*, and erecting of the new *Diſcipline*: It is confeſſed, that *Coppinger* and *Arthington*, the two Counterfeit Prophets (on the 16th of *July* laſt, being *Friday*, and the ſelf-ſame day that they aroſe in *Cheapſide*) told *Wigginton* in the morning theſe words amongſt many others, *viz. That Reformation and the Lord's Diſcipline ſhould now forthwith be eſtabliſhed, and therefore charged* Wigginton *in the Lord's name, to put all Chriſtians in comfort, that they ſhould ſee a joyful alteration in the ſtate of Church-Government ſhortly.*

Coppinger *and* Arthington (*two falſe Prophets*) *their words to* Wigginton *the day before the Inſurrection.*

ly. To which words *Wigginton* made no reply, nor further demand, as of any matter ſtrange unto him, how it was ſo ſhortly to be compaſſed. Wherein may alſo be obſerved, that theſe kind of Perſons do reckon and term only thoſe *Chriſtians* that will take comfort and joy at ſuch an Alteration. So that (by their Opinions) it skilleth not what be attempted or done againſt all others, being but as Heathens and Paynims, or at leaſt Idolaters.

Their Seditious Purpoſes appear in Coppinger's *Letter to* Udal, *then condemned for writing the Demonſtration of Diſcipline.*

Thus much (with their ſeditious Purpoſes alſo) is plainly implied in a dangerous Letter written by the ſaid *Coppinger* ſince *Eaſter* laſt, unto one *John Udal*, a condemned man for Felony, in the *White Lyon* in *Surrey*, for writing of the Book termed the *Demonſtration of Diſcipline*: That Letter beginneth thus: *Right Reverend Sir, my forbearing to viſit you and the reſt of the Saints (who ſuffer for Righteouſneſs ſake) do give you all cauſe to think that I have forſaken my firſt Love, and have embraced the God of this World. But my Conſcience beareth me witneſs of the contrary: The Reaſons of my abſence being ſo great and ſo weighty, that hereafter when they ſhall be examined by your ſelves (who are endued with the ſpirit of wiſdom and diſcerning of Spirits) I doubt not but you will allow of my not coming, which might bring you into more trouble and danger, than it would do me good, or breed me comfort.* And afterward thus, *You have care and conſcience to further the building of the Lord's Houſe which lieth waſte, and to ſeek the final overthrow of Anti-*

Note.

Antichriſt's Kingdom: which being the Lord's own work, he will bleſs it, and all the Actors in it. And this I dare be bold (of mine own knowledge) to report, that in this great Work he hath divers that lie hid, and are yet at liberty, who are hammering their heads, buſying their brains, and ſpending their ſpirits in prayers to God, as much as you, or any of you that are in Priſon, and hope in ſhort time to be brought forth into the ſight of their and your Enemies, to defend the Cauſe you ſtand for. And again afterward in this wiſe: *I beſeech you, cheer up your ſelves in the Lord, for the day of our Redemption is at hand, and pray that the Hand of the Lord may be ſtrengthened in them, whom he hath appointed to take part with you in this Cauſe, and beſeech him that bleſſing may be upon* Sion, *and confuſion upon* Babel. *Pardon my long Letter, I beſeech you, and impart mine humble ſuit to all the reſt, to whom I neither dare write, nor offer to ſee. I neither put to my Name, nor make Subſcription: The Bringer can report who ſendeth the Letter, and let that ſuffice.*

Note.

Note.

Furthermore, that they hated deadly and maligned her *Majeſty* (as a principal Obſtacle to their Innovation and Kingdom, and therefore ſought to deprive her Highneſs of her Sovereignty and Life) may be gathered by their own Words and Actions: For *Hacket* confeſſed before the other two, that at a Sermon of one *Egerton*'s preach'd in the *Black-Fryars* (whither they uſually reſort) he the ſaid *Hacket* remained uncovered all the Sermon time, until the Preacher came to

They uſually attend Egerton, *a Preacher in* Black-Friars.

to pray for her *Majeſty*, but then (he ſaid) that he put on his Hat. And when *Arthington* demanded why he did ſo, *Coppinger* ſtreightway anſwered thus, There is a matter in that. Likewiſe when as (in their private Prayers amongſt themſelves) *Arthington* uſed to pray for the *Queen*, *Coppinger* would ſundry times tell him, that his ſo doing did much grieve *Hacket*, adding, that in the beginning himſelf did alſo pray for her, but *Hacket* had now drawn him from it: ſaying, there was a cauſe why, which *Arthington* knew not, but ſhould know hereafter. For (ſaith he) you do not know this man (meaning *Hacket*) who is a greater Perſon than ſhe, and indeed above all the Princes in the World.

Coppinger *and* Hacket *forbear to pray for the Queen.*

And whenas on the very *Sunday* before their riſing (for ſo themſelves have ſince termed that Action) it happened that *Arthington* prayed again for the preſervation of the *Queen's Majeſty*: *Hacket* (not digeſting this) ſuddenly with indignation turned his face away from him, but when he prayed for other matters, then *Hacket* caſt his countenance towards him again; which he perceiving that *Arthington* alſo marked by him, and purpoſing (as it ſeemeth) to ſalve up this matter again, (leſt *Arthington* happily might yet have fallen from them) therefore when they had ended their Prayers, *Hacket* took him with his Arms about the middle (in very kind ſort) affirming, that he loved the *Queen* as well as either of them, and de-

ſired him not to be offended, for the Lord had commanded it: Adding further, that there was a matter in it that *Arthington* as yet knew not. Hereupon *Coppinger* (being in hearing thereof) ſaid, that ſhe might be prayed for in general terms, but not ſo ſpecially as *Arthington* did (whereby *Hacket* was grieved) nor yet to be prayed for as a *Sovereign*: For (ſaid he) ſhe may not reign as *Sovereign*, but this man *Hacket*; and yet (ſaith he) ſhe ſhall live better than ever ſhe did, albeit ſhe muſt be governed by another, thereby alſo meaning *Hacket*. And to the intent they might the more aſſuredly retain *Arthington* without ſuſpicion of their poiſonful malice (wherein they boiled againſt the *Queen*'s Highneſs) *Hacket* himſelf (once after this time) very ſubtilly prayed for her *Majeſty*.

Note.

For proof that they alſo meant to deprive her of life, the ſeveral Confeſſions of *Arthington* at ſundry Examinations may be alledged. Whereby (upon that which he heard and knew) is confeſſed, that he is verily perſuaded *Hacket* meant her *Majeſty* ſhould have been deprived both of Kingdom and Life, which he alſo gathered by *Coppinger*'s Letters, albeit he denieth, that he was ever made acquainted by what ſpecial means it ſhould be done.

Arthington *confeſſeth that* Hacket *and* Coppinger *deſign'd the Queen's depriuation of Government and Life.*

Thus having in ſome part deſcribed the Qualities, Perſuaſions in Opinion, Familiarity, Inducements unto mutual crediting one

one of another, Exerciſes and Deſignments of theſe Perſons: It reſteth to go on with the Narration of the reſt of the Action, for better perfiting up of this Hiſtory.

Hacket on a time recounting up unto the other two his Torments (which he pretended to have endured) told, how (amongſt others) one *Pigg* a Preacher did ſo beat him with Rods at a place in *Hartfordſhire*, (whilſt he lay bound there in a Sink-hole) that this coſt him the ſaid *Hacket* more dear, than all the reſt of his Torments; becauſe thereby he was enforced to ſuffer for all Hypocrites alſo; adding thereunto, that all their beſt Preachers (ſo they term ſuch as thirſt after and perſuade Innovations) were no better in very truth than *Hypocrites*, nevertheleſs he would (he ſaid) daily hear them preach. Hereupon *Arthington* took occaſion to tell him, that he could prove all ſuch Preachers to be *Hypocrites* and *Idolaters* both (albeit of ignorance) becauſe they do yield (in ſome ſort) to the Commandments of the Governors, and unto the Laws of this Church, that they may be tolerated to preach.

They account their Puritanical Preachers Hypocrites and Idolaters for their conformity to the Laws of the Church.

This pleaſed *Hacket* ſo exceedingly well, as that he began highly to eſteem of *Arthington*, and hereby the rather he thought good, that *Arthington* ſhould be made acquainted with their Letters. For about ten days before their riſing (*Arthington* ſaith) that *Coppinger* did greatly importune him to read the Letters which he and *Hacket* had

written, if it were but to ſee the ſtile; aſſuring him they tended to nothing elſe, but to make a way to acquaint her *Majeſty* with their Secrets. So that when *Arthington* ſaw ſo great Counſellors ſo reſolutely thereby charged with matter of ſo high quality, by *Coppinger* eſpecially (her *Majeſty*'s ſworn Servant) he was induced to believe it, and to think they had ſome very good ground thereof.

Arthington alſo (with great contentment unto *Hacket*) framed certain Syllogiſms (I believe) in a lewd *Mode*, and in an unperfect and fond *Figure*, to prove (forſooth) one of the ſaid honourable Counſellors (whom he and *Coppinger* villanouſly afterward proclaimed Traitors) to be ſuch as they do charge him to be. This worthy work of *Syllogiſms* therefore being firſt finiſhed, his other Treatiſe (to prove thoſe Preachers to be *Hypocrites* and *Idolaters*) was ſtraightway ſet upon the ſtocks, and began to be built on the *Monday* before their riſing; after they all had (for obtaining good ſucceſs in this and the reſt of their buſineſs) *humbled themſelves on the Lord's-day afore in faſting and prayer*, for ſo be their words. This latter Treatiſe *Arthington* finiſhed up the *Thurſday* morning next after, and termed it *A Prophecy of Judgments againſt England*, whoſe skill in this precipitate kind of Piſtling, the other two ſo magnified, as that they termed him by a Title mentioned in a *Pſalm*, viz. *The pen of a ready writer.* Whereas wiſer men think they might have looked

Faſting and Prayer on the Lord's-day before the Inſurrection.

looked a little lower, and he have better compared it, as the Wiſeman doth the like, where he ſaith, *A word in a fool's mouth is like an arrow in a dog's leg*, becauſe he will never leave wrinching and fisking till he have got it out.

In this *Prophecy* he firſt ſetteth down the Third Commandment, inferring what Plagues ſhall light on himſelf if he offend therein. Then cometh he to his nine ſeveral Aſſertions, adding to every one of them, The Lord to confound him, *viz.* that if he think not himſelf to be the vileſt ſinful Wretch living: If he take not himſelf to be the moſt ignorant in God's Book of any man that hath profeſſed the Goſpel ſo long: If he acknowledge not himſelf moſt unfit and unworthy of all men to ſerve the Lord Jeſus: If nevertheleſs he be not extraordinarily called to do the Meſſage of God more faithfully than any Preacher in *England* hitherto hath done: If the Scripture do not juſtify *extraordinary* Callings before the ends of the World: If he know not two Perſons within the City of *London*, that have greater *extraordinary* Callings than himſelf, videlicet, *Edmund Coppinger*, and *William Hacket*: If the former be not a Prophet raiſed up of the Lord to bring a Meſſage of great Mercy to the Land, if all the People truly repent of their Sins: If the latter be not the holieſt Man, and of the greateſt power to bring fearful Judgments upon the whole Earth, that ever was born, *Chriſt Jeſus* excepted:

Arthington's *Prophecy.*

If the ſaid *Hacket* (as the Meſſenger of God's Vengeance, where mercy is refuſed) do not bring ſuch great Plagues upon this Realm of *England*, the like whereof was never ſeen: In theſe, and in every of theſe ſeveral Caſes, he prayeth the Lord to confound him.

His dreadful Imprecations.

Whereupon he inferreth, that having thus denounced ſo many fearful Woes againſt his own Soul, as would ſink it into the bottomleſs Pit of Hell, if he were guilty in any one of them. Then thereupon with chearfulneſs he cometh to declare his Meſſage to *England*, accuſing it to be the moſt rebellious, though it have been moſt bleſſed of all other Nations. Then he affirmeth the City of *London*, and the Courts of *Juſtice* at *Weſtminſter*, and the counterfeit Worſhip of God with Croſs and Surpleſs, to be worſe than *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, or the Purple Whore of *Rome*, or elſe deſireth to be confounded. Nay he preferreth *Rome* before *London*; becauſe at *Rome* they ſin only of ignorance. Of *her Majeſty* he ſaith, ſhe is leaſt guilty of the common Sins, but moſt abuſed (of any *Prince* that ever was) by thoſe whom ſhe hath moſt advanced.

Then he ſpeaks to three great Counſellors, *C. C. T.* daring them to proteſt for their innocencies againſt themſelves as deeply as he hath done, and then, if they be not ſwallowed up quick, he is contented to be hanged up in Chains at *Paul's-Croſs*. Then he threatneth them, that *they three ſhall be otherwiſe*

Note.

wiſe detected ere long, and all thoſe that are their Partakers, when her Majeſty ſhall reign and live to ſee better days, if God give her true repentance. Then he ſaith he will leave all other of the Clergy (as ſufficiently detected already) ſave ſuch as pretend to ſeek *Reformation*, who (he ſaith) are as guilty (in two points) as any of the other. The firſt point, for not crying out continually againſt *Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans, Archdeacons*, and others, as wicked Uſurpers in the Houſe of God. The ſecond, for not crying out againſt the wicked *Magiſtrates* of this Land, becauſe they keep out the *Elderſhips* out of the Church, and maintain in their room Officers and Offices of *Antichriſt*: Hereupon gathering thus: *How can God ſpare this Land any longer, wherein both the Magiſtrates and Meſſengers of God have dealt ſo unfaithfully in the Lord's ſervice?* Adding, That *the fearful Judgments of God ſhall be ſure to fall on the Reprobate; being already prepared, and put into the hands of the Mighty Meſſenger of the Almighty God*, William Hacket, *to be poured out upon this great City of* London, *and upon all Places, where repentance followeth not this publication.* Then he goeth about to prove all ſuch Preachers to be *Idolaters*, or conſenting to *Idolatry*, which Practiſe or Conſent, and ſuffer others to uſe Surpleſs and Croſs, becauſe (he ſaith) they are the marks of *Antichriſt*. Preferring herein the *Papiſts* afore them, as ſinning herein only of ignorance, ſeeking alſo to engreeve their Faults in this behalf, for that

they are all *Hypocritical Idolaters*, in that (nevertheleſs) they profeſs *Reformation*: Whereunto he addeth (he ſaith) a Secret: That *this their halting and hypocriſy hath ſo hardned God's heart againſt their Requeſts, for bringing in the* Diſcipline, *that for this unfaithful and unſingle walking in their Function, he hath hitherto denied it. Neither ſhall any one of them, or all of them together, have that honour given, to bring in Reformation: For* (ſaith he) *I tell you truly, the Almighty God hath put his Cup of Vengeance into his truſty and faithful Servants hand,* William Hacket, *to pour it down ſhortly upon every wilful and obſtinate Sinner that doth not repent upon the notice hereof, or elſe the Lord confound me.* Laſtly, he giveth a charge *to have this Prophecy, together with the incredible, (but moſt certain) Hiſtory of the holieſt Servant of God,* William Hacket, *that ever hath been, is, or ſhall be born, (Chriſt Jeſus only excepted) with all ſpeed poſſible, printed and publiſhed together, as in ſubſtance true* (ſaith he) *or elſe the Lord confound me.* This wiſe Prophecy is thus ſubſcribed: *By the moſt unworthy Servant, but yet a faithful Prophet of the Almighty Jeſus, or elſe his Wrath confound me.* Henry Arthington.

Note.

Coppinger *writes* Hacket's *Hiſtory at large to be publiſhed with his Prophecy.*

While *Arthington* was about this his Task, *Coppinger* (as it ſeemeth) was neither idle nor well occupied, for he was ſetting down from *Hacket*'s own mouth a long *Ragman*'s Role of *Hacket*'s Torments, Revelations, and (I know not what) called *Hacket*'s Hiſtory. For by *Thurſday* morning *Hacket* having

ving enlarged the firſt draught thereof, (which was at firſt but ſcribled out by *Coppinger*) *Arthington* was to write out again fair the enlarged Copy, that being perfited, it might be annexed unto the aforeſaid *Prophecy*. All that *Thurſday* was ſpent by them in conſultation and writing: *Hacket* being alſo preſent, and aſſiſting them. But with what joyfulneſs amongſt them all, it is incredible, if we may believe their own Reports. Yet *Arthington* was forced (for the haſte that was made to have all in readineſs againſt the *Friday* following, and for the deſire he had to yield unto *Hacket* all ſatisfaction and contentment that might be) to ſit up moſt of *Thurſday* night, writing out again of the ſaid *Hiſtory*, ſo enlarged.

But on *Thurſday* it ſelf (being the 15th of *July*) amongſt other their Actions, *Coppinger* and *Arthington* writ a Letter to the aforeſaid *T. L.* which is of this tenor: firſt at the top of it, thus, *viz.*

Coppinger's *and* Arthington's *Letter unto* T. Lancaſter.

If this Letter be not endited by the Holy Ghoſt, who hath appeared (in a far greater meaſure) to ſinful Wretches, in the end of the World, even to us, whoſe Names are here under-written, and to a third Perſon, in Calling above all former Callings whatſoever, (Chriſt Jeſus excepted) the Lord confound us two with vengeance from Heaven, and carry us (with all violence) into the bottomleſs Pit.

If we have not taken the name of God in vain,

vain, it ſtandeth you upon to read this Letter with fear and trembling, with joy and gladneſs; with fear, that the Lord ſhould wooe you to do him ſervice; with joy, that he offereth you honour, if you accept it. We two are Meſſengers from Heaven, who have a good Captain to guide us; who have received immediate Callings from God, to call the whole World to repentance and amendment of Life; otherwiſe they are to fear, that Chriſt Jeſus's ſecond coming in glory, will be to them as a Thief in the night. If I, Edmund Coppinger, *do not prefer you before any one man in the Land whatſoever, for your wiſe, holy, loving and religious Courſe, both in the general Calling of a Chriſtian, and in your particular Calling, the Lord confound me Body and Soul. The reaſon why I chuſe you firſt, is, becauſe in your Houſe, in your preſence, and (under God partly by your means) I had my firſt extraordinary Calling, though thereof (as of all other things) the whole honour and glory be the Lord's. And of the ſame mind is my Brother* Arthington. *In token of our extraordinary love to you, we deal as we neither have, or will do, with any other; for we command in the name of the Lord all Creatures upon the Earth, and they muſt obey. But with you we will diſpenſe thus far, that it ſhall be your choiſe to come, and take a new Calling (for a time, wherein we would uſe you) or refuſe it. So wiſhing you to commend us and your ſelf to God, before you anſwer us, which we expect in word, and not in writing,* &c.

The Meſſenger of Mercy to the whole World, if they accept me, *E. Coppinger.*

I avouch

I avouch whatſoever my Brother hath written to be moſt true: And further I proteſt, that you are a more holy man than any Preacher in London, *or throughout the whole Land, or elſe the Lord confound me. If it pleaſe you to come and ſee me joyful, you may hope this is true.*

The Prophet of God's Judgements to the whole World, where mercy is rejected,

Hen. Arthington.

That the perfit and enlarged Hiſtory of *Hacket* be briefly gathered into a Summary, and here ſet down, it will not (I think) be amiſs, for ſuch as ſhall be deſirous to know, what myſteries may be therein contained, which drew theſe two (amongſt other matters) into ſuch an extraordinary admiration, and opinion of him.

A ſum of Hacket's *Hiſtory.*

" Firſt therefore, There is declared whom " *Hacket* ſerved; then how he got the execu- " tion of the Bailywick of *Oundel*, being " void: How upon complaint of the Wives " there, that their Husbands ſpent their " thrift in Alehouſes on the *Sabbath* days " he (by a Juſtice of Peace not far off) did " cauſe all the Playing Tables that could be " come by, to be burnt. Alſo the light and " enticing behaviour of ſome Women to- " wards him, and his familiarity with them, " whereby his Wife became jealous of him,

" ſo

" ſo that he was forced (for her ſatisfaction)
" to clear himſelf by his Oath. The ſundry
" Baits laid by means of ſome of his Fel-
" lows (that envied him for the credit he
" had with thoſe whom he ſerved) to en-
" trap him with Women. His attempting
" them in diſhoneſt manner, but with pur-
" poſe only (as he there pretendeth) to
" learn of them the Practices againſt him.
" The like Snares laid for him by ſome of
" better place and credit than the former:
" Of his affliction in mind that he endured,
" becauſe he ſo behaved himſelf toward Wo-
" men, and yet could not learn out by them
" the plot laid againſt him: Of his going
" into *Hampſhire* to have been placed there:
" How he was in a place there (for the moſt
" part of 20 days) beat with a Baſtonado,
" and into what pitiful ſtate of Body he was
" thereby brought: That this was done,
" partly for his avouching that *Chriſt* was
" Head of the Church, againſt the *Pope*, and
" for ſaying, That as certain Earthen Pots
" were there by him broken, ſo ſhould all
" *Papiſts* be broken in Hell, and confound-
" ed, ſo many as roſe up againſt him in
" Earth: How he was forced to uſe the
" Deputy-Lieutenant of *Hampſhire* his Aid,
" to be ſafely conveyed out of that Coun-
" try, leſt he ſhould be murthered by his
" Enemies: That he came thence to one
"M. *Paul Wentworth*'s Houſe, where he re-
" mained a Month, and was uſed moſt
" Chriſtianly, and where he was moſt deep-

" ly

" ly exerciſed in the Spirit: How as he paſ-
" ſed by the way out of *Hampſhire*, he told a
" Gentleman in company (that was privy
" to his Enemies Complots) of a great Pra-
" ctice intended againſt him, and to be done
" in a Chamber, by certain Perſons, whom
" he then named aforehand: Inſomuch as
" the ſaid Gentleman (being made privy to
" ſuch purpoſe, and knowing that he ſaid
" true) affirmed, ſurely he could conjure,
" or elſe it had not been poſſible to tell ſuch
" things as he did; where indeed (he ſaith)
" the Lord, in the midſt of his former Af-
" flictions, revealed it unto him, and fur-
" ther ſhewed him a Place which he had
" appointed for him, and how he would
" bring all his Enemies Practices to confu-
" ſion: How in performance of that which
" was ſo revealed, he was afterward in a
" certain Place in *Hartfordſhire* bound, firſt
" in a Chamber, and then chained in a
" Sink-hole of a Seller, and moſt grievouſly
" many ways afflicted there for 20 days to-
" gether: That in the greateſt extremity
" thereof (which was greater than he could
" expreſs) a *Croſs* came upon his Breaſt as
" he lay, and always when his Torments
" were at the greateſt, the Lord unlooſed
" his Feet and Hands from his Fetters, and
" Bands; nevertheleſs he lay ſtill till his
" Tormentors came, and bound him again:
" How the Lord then appeared to him, and
" aſſured him, that he would eſtabliſh the
" Goſpel by him, and ſhewed him all the

" Whore-

" Whoredom of *Rome*, in the perſon of a
" great Perſonage (ſince deceaſed) as it
" were in Candle-light, with a great Bell
" full of iniquity: That during that time,
" the Lord ſhewed him a terrible Famine
" which he would bring upon a Land, but
" whether this Land or not, was not declared:
" That *Chriſt* then ſhewed him his Wiſdom
" and Providence, in governing the Seas,
" and all other Waters in their Courſes:
" And further ſhewed him the Man that
" ſhould ſit on *Chriſt*'s Right hand, to judge
" both the quick and the dead, whoſe
" Name he well knoweth: That then he
" made his Petition unto the Lord, who
" anſwered him by a Voice, thus, *What he*
" *would, how he would, and when he would:*
" How (by the extremity of his Torments)
" his Eyes were fallen down, and his Tongue
" thruſt out of his Head, ſo as he could not
" pull it in again one Barley-corn's breadth;
" but the Lord in that extremity ſhewed
" him, that he would keep his Body from
" burſting, and that one hair of his Head
" ſhould not periſh: That being looſed (by
" his Wife's importunity) ſoon after, in a
" very Rainy-day, he, his Wife, one *Richard*
" *Dickens*, and one *Palmer*, rid altogether
" thence toward *Oundell*, thirty Miles that
" day; and albeit it rained all the day very
" ſore (ſo that great floods came upon it)
" yet never a one of them had any drop
" thereof fall upon their Clothes: That be-
" ing at *Oundell*, and foreſeeing he ſhould

" be

" be exerciſed again, he prayed his Wife
" that no man might come at him, for he
" would keep his Chamber: And then the
" Lord appeared unto him, and ſhewed him
" in what danger the Land was, by reaſon
" of foreign Enemies at the Sea; and com-
" manded him to go round about the Town,
" and that ſhould be a defence to the Land
" round about: That after this he kept him-
" ſelf in his Barn about eight days, reaſoning
" with the Lord touching *Predeſtination* and
" *Reprobation*, continually begging of him,
" that he would ſave all thoſe that fought
" ignorantly againſt the Truth, or other-
" wiſe ſinned through want of knowledge:
" How (after this) betaking himſelf to his
" Chamber again, the Lord (he ſaith) for-
" ced him to cry out againſt two great Sub-
" jects and *Counſellors* in this Land: That he
" was again bound and tormented there
" other twenty days, in eight whereof, he
" neither did eat nor drink, and was conti-
" nually watched, for that they knew the
" Lord would come and looſe him, if they
" left him: That during this time Witches
" uſed their Sorcery ſtrongly upon him:
" That the Lord then told him that he
" would harden his own heart againſt
" *Hacket*'s Tormentors: How then alſo four
" or five Angels night by night ſtood by him,
" and watched over him, like unto Doves,
" and one night Spirits innumerable: And
" that a white Hand came from the Almigh-
" ty, and took him by the hand, whereby all

" Venome

" Venome, Poiſon, Uncleanneſs and Cor-
" ruption departed from him for a time:
" whereupon the Lord ſhewed him three
" Heavens together, and all the dwelling
" places contrived in one of them, but the
" higheſt Heaven was ſhewed to be without
" end, which glory he was not able to be-
" hold, but was made able to look upon the
" Blood of the Saints, which was made
" round like a Wax Cake, in very great
" breadth, but the glory which therewith
" appeared, he could not look upon, ſo that
" he was forced to turn his face upon the
" Pillow: How the Lord alſo ſhewed him
" the murthering of the Wicked, even like
" the ſlaying of Swine, the Father murther-
" ing the Son, and the Mother the Daugh-
" ter, and every one another, all the day
" long, and no man took pity upon them:
" That there was then revealed unto him a
" very ſtrange fire from Heaven, the length
" whereof he did ſee conſuming all things
" from the Heaven to Hell mouth, but he
" did not ſee the breadth thereof: Alſo that
" he then did ſee the breadth of the tor-
" menting place of the Damned, and what
" was therein, but neither the bottom, nor
" length of the place: That he alſo ſuppo-
" ſed he ſaw his Liberty begged by two ho-
" nourable Perſonages: Notwithſtanding
" which deliverance (that he dreamed of)
" he telleth that he was carried afterward to
" *Northampton* Gaol, where he remained
" 17 Weeks, as afore is remembred. Fur-
" thermore

" thermore there is declared, That in his " Torments the Lord ſhewed him how he " would confound all his Adverſaries that " were guilty in any practice againſt him, " and that one thing which they went " about, they ſhould never bring to paſs; " for he let him ſee, that they were all as " drunken men, and Fools without wit: " That in the end they ſhould throw all " their Books away, and be at a great con- " fuſion one with another: That afterward " (*viz.* about the beginning of *Eaſter* Term " laſt) the Lord brought him to *London*, and " how he was made acquainted with *Cop-* " *pinger* at that time, as hath been afore de- " clared: How after his departing out of " the City from *Coppinger*, he could not but " remember him in his Prayers; deſiring " the Lord to reveal himſelf *extraordinarily* " to him, ſo *that he might be encouraged* to go " forward in the Action: Whereupon (as " the ſaid *Coppinger* affirmed) *he had two ex-* " *traordinary Seals in very ſhort ſpace after* " Hacket's *departure, and was wonderfully* " *ſtrengthened to proceed in the Cauſe.* Then " is told how the Lord commanded him to " go from one place to another in and about " the City, for two days ſpace; and how " he was commanded to rail againſt the " ſaid two great *Counſellors*, in divers places " where he came: How being (in that " time) commanded to ſee the Lyons in " the *Tower*, he took the fierceſt of them by " the Head, and had none harm: Then is

" told what Preachers in the City he heard,
" and that going to hear one, he ſaw a Surpleſs
" lie in the Church, whereupon he would
" not ſtay there: That he went to certain
" Preachers in Priſon, to command them to
" deal faithfully in the Lord's buſineſs: And
" how he was commanded by God to de-
" face the Arms of *England* in *Kaye*'s Houſe
" in *Knight-Rider's-ſtreet*. Laſtly, It is ſaid,
" that God hath appointed two others to
" deal for, and with *Hacket*, whom it will
" ſtand upon to deal faithfully for the Lord,
" for they know what *Hacket* is, and what
" ſhall follow, if their Counſels and Di-
" rections be not followed.

Now if any ſhall marvail, how ſuch an abſurd and ridiculous lying Legend ſhould ſeduce men of any conſideration, ſo earneſt for a ſuppoſed Reformation, *and ſo exerciſed in praying and faſting; let him remember, not only the effectual, but the efficacy it ſelf of illuſion, and the ſpirit of ſlumber, falling (by God's ſecret, yet always juſt judgment) upon the Children of diſobedience, ſuch as be wiſe in their own conceits, and not wiſe with ſobriety; that they might believe Lies, becauſe they have not believed the Truth: And that they might ask and not obtain, becauſe they ask not as they ought.*

" After *Arthington* (on *Thurſday* morning)
" had ended his aforeſaid Treatiſe of Pro-
" phecy (being the very day before their
" riſing) *Coppinger* told him, that God (the
" night

" night before) had enlightned him the " ſaid *Coppinger*, who they all three were, " ſaying, that *Arthington* had unawares pro- " pheſied truly; for he was the greateſt *Pro-* " *phet of God's Judgments* againſt the whole " World that ever was, but that they both " were greater than he; for *Coppinger* him- " ſelf was (he ſaid) the greateſt that ever " was, and laſt *Prophet of mercy*: and that he " muſt deſcribe the new and holy *Jeruſalem*, " with the ſeveral places of joy that the Elect " ſhould enjoy after this Life, and that they " the ſaid *Coppinger* and *Arthington*, were or- " dained to ſeparate the Lambs from the " Goats before the Lord *Jeſus* at the laſt day. " Whereat (it is ſaid) they were both aſto- " niſhed, conſidering their own unworthi- " neſs and unfitneſs, crying out againſt " themſelves and their Sins; yet ſubmitting " themſelves to the direction of God's Spi- " rit, which they were aſſured ſhould ſuffi- " ciently furniſh them to do him that ſervice " which himſelf did command. Then *Cop-* " *pinger* proceeded to tell further, That " *Hacket* was greater than either of them, " and that they two muſt obey him in what- " ſoever he commanded, but told not then " what, nor how great he was, other than " King of *Europe*; which Title was (afore " this time) concluded of amongſt them. " Hereupon (according to *Coppinger*'s com- " mandment) *Arthington* offered to honour " *Hacket* with his Title of the King of *Eu-* " *rope*, and to demean himſelf toward him

" accordingly. But *Hacket* himſelf herein " diſpenſed with him, until the time ſhould " come, that he was to honour him before " others, bidding him withal to be of good " cheer; for (ſaith he) *I ſerve a good Cap-* " *tain, who makes ſo dear accompt of me, that* " *all the Devils in Hell, nor Men in Earth, can-* " *not take my life from me.* Then *Coppinger* " (for confirmation of the like unto them " two alſo) ſaid, that *Arthington* and him- " ſelf were poſſeſſed, not only with Pro- " phetical, but alſo with *Angelical* Spirits, " which *Arthington* taking to be true (by a " great burning that he felt in himſelf after " that time) did thereupon fancy to him- " ſelf, that no power in Earth nor Hell " could hurt either of them, becauſe they " had the ſpirit of *Angels*, and they were " ſubject to no Power, but to God alone: " And that (God being the maſter of the " whole Work) all things ſhould proſper " with them, they only ſeeking his glory, " which (he ſaith) he vowed with himſelf, " and to deal throughly in his Office, to " rebuke the World of Sin, and to denounce " Judgments againſt whomſoever the Spirit " ſhould move him, without fear or favour " of Men, or of Devils in Hell: which Spi- " rit (he ſaith) then moved him (accord- " ing to his hatred afore conceived againſt " them, and his opinion that they were " Traytors againſt the *Queen's Majeſty*) to " utter and to declare his deteſtation he had " againſt the aforeſaid three worthy *Counſel-*

" *lors,*

" *lors*, being by their places the greateſt Sub-
" jects in the Land. But herein may be
ſaid with the Poet:

Quis tulerit Gracchos de ſeditione querentes?
Verrem de furto? ——

" Who can with any patience indure ſuch
" Seditious Companions as theſe, to appeach
" others of Treaſon? but eſpecially ſo Loyal,
" Honourable and Worthy Counſellors, as
" they three are known to the World to be.
" By the way, we may note the ſubtil
" managing and carriage of this Action by
" *Hacket* and *Coppinger* in this one principal
" Point, which *Arthington* himſelf alſo now
" obſerveth: *videlicet*, in that they opened
" not at any time *Hacket*'s chief pretended
" Office unto *Arthington*; *videlicet*, to repre-
" ſent, and to participate with *Jeſus Chriſt*'s
" Office (of ſevering with his Fan the good
" from the bad) until the very time they
" were to go into the Streets to do the Meſ-
" ſage that *Hacket* enjoyned them. For
" hereby they prevented a doubt of driving
" *Arthington* back, who ſeemed a Man ſo
" ſerviceable for their purpoſe, as that he
" was worthy to be ſtill retained by them:
" and the rather, for that he had not yet
" finiſhed the writing up of *Hacket's Hiſtory*
" that was to be annexed to the *Prophecy*)
" until late that *Thurſday* night which was
" afore their riſing, for they might have
" feared (if leiſure had ſerved him to have

" conſidered of it, and examined it at full
" how this could be) leſt it might have
" made him at leaſt to ſtagger, and be
" doubtful of it.

" Beſides, *Hacket* kept (as *Arthington* now
" gathereth) that honour wholly to himſelf
" to proclaim it to them both together, as
" it were by a Voice from Heaven, at that
" very inſtant when they ſhould receive
" their charge of him; and thereby have no
" time to reaſon againſt it, being ſtraight-
" way to go forward as obedient Perſons to
" him in all things.

" Thus that *Thurſday* paſſed on. On *Fri-*
" *day* morning *Coppinger* ſent his Man *Emer-*
" *ſon* (by Five of the Clock in the morn-
" ing) unto *Arthington*'s Lodging, but his
" Wife would not then awake him; ſo he
" ſent for him again at Six, and they two
" then went together unto *Coppinger*. Then
" *Coppinger* and *Arthington* determined (that
" *Friday* morning, being the 16th day of
" *July* laſt) between Six and Seven of the
" Clock in the forenoon, to go unto a cer-
" tain Gentleman's Houſe about the City,
" of good behaviour, and they forſooth to
" honour him, to be chief Governor under
" her *Majeſty*, which they alſo did that
" Morning, and promiſed unto him accord-
" ingly that he ſhould ſo be. Leaving alſo
" with him both the ſaid *Prophecy* and
" *Hacket's Hiſtory* to peruſe, but the good
" Gentleman was unwilling to deal either
" with them or their Papers any way. They

" ſtayed

" ſtayed not there above half an hour. " From thence they came betwixt Eight " and Nine of the Clock in the Morning " unto *Wigginton*'s Chamber (being Pri- " ſoner in the *Counter in Woodſtreet*) with " whom having much ſpeech and confe- " rence (part whereof is touched before) " among other things, they ſignified unto " him, (as *Arthington* confeſſeth) *that they* " *were provoked to pronounce him the holieſt Mi-* " *niſter of all others, for dealing ſo plainly and* " *reſolutely in God's Cauſes above all Miniſters,* " *which God would manifeſt one day to his com-* " *fort.*

" *Wigginton* at his examination confeſſeth " ſuch Conference by him at that time to " have been had with them, and (as he was " enjoined by thoſe who examined him) " hath reported it by writing ſomewhat " largely. He therein alſo ſetteth down a " Conference had by him about the ſame " matters with *Hacket* himſelf, coming to " him thither alone (as he ſaith) the ſelf- " ſame *Friday* morning, ſome while after " the other two were departed from him.

" It may be gathered by his own Narra- " tion, that betwixt the time of *Coppinger* " and *Arthington*'s talk with him, *Wigginton* " had ſet down Article-wiſe, and diſtincted " with number the ſeveral Heads of their " Speeches had with him. And after he al- " ſo enquired and ſet down in writing " *Hacket*'s Opinion likewiſe, unto every of " the ſaid Articles ſeverally. And albeit it

" need not be queſtioned, but that both for " Circumſtance and Matter he would ſet it " down, the leaſt that might be either to " his own, or any his Complices diſadvan- " tage, yet may it ſerve for the fuller un- " derſtanding of the whole Action, and for " neceſſary obſervation beſides, to touch " ſome chief Points of thoſe Conferences, " though it be but as himſelf telleth them.

Wigginton's *Report of his Conference and Speeches with* Coppinger, Arthington *and* Hacket.

The principal Points of *Wigginton*'s own Report touching Conference and Speeches had by him to and fro with *Coppinger* and *Arthington*, and afterward with *Hacket*, the 16th day of *July* in the Morning, 1591.

He ſaith, *That* Coppinger *and* Arthington *came unto him about Eight or Nine of the Clock of the 16th day of* July *in the Morning, full of courage and comfort, ſaying unto him thus: We are come to you now to bring you certain News of*

1. *great comfort, which is this,* viz. *That we have ſeen Jeſus Chriſt this day in lively and extraordinary ſhape or faſhion preſented unto us, not in his Body (for ſo he ſitteth at the right hand of God in Heaven, until the laſt Judgment) but in his effectual or principal Spirit, whereby he dwelleth in* William Hacket, *more than in any Creature upon the Earth.*

When *Hacket* came not long after their departure that Morning unto him, *Wigginton* ſaith, That *he examined him about the whole*

whole Speeches of Coppinger *and* Arthington *uttered before unto him; whereunto* Hacket *anſwered firſt generally thus: That he approved them no further than he ſaw they had warrant for their doings, but particularly to this firſt Article thus,* viz.

Hacket's Anſwer thereof unto *Wigginton.*

To the firſt, That he knew not of that their Viſion, but he accounted himſelf to be a chief Meſſenger of God, in ſuch ſort as followeth.

Coppinger and *Arthington's* Speeches to *Wigginton.*

That the ſaid William Hacket *is the very ſame Angel foreſpoken of by the Scriptures, who ſhould come before the laſt Judgment of Chriſt with a Fan or Sheephook in his hand, to ſeparate the Goats from the Sheep.* 2.

Hacket's Anſwer.

To the ſecond, That he was the only principal Man ſent of God to decide the Controverſies of the Goſpel of Chriſt in the World, or in England, *or in* Europe; *into which Controverſies ſome bad Perſons (being Enemies to him and to the Goſpel in* England, *and ſome of them being great Perſonages) had drawn him to enter by their Cruel, Unjuſt, and Extraordinary Practices and Treacheries, or Sorceries uſed againſt him: and that by him, as by a principal Angel of God (with his*

his Fan in his hand) God would now ſeparate the Sheep from the Goats; and that God would eſtabliſh the Goſpel by him generally, either by his death, or by his life; but (quoth he as it were correcting himſelf) by my life it muſt be.

Coppinger and *Arthington's* Speeches.

3. *That* Hacket *is a Man dearer or nearer unto God in ſome reſpects, than* Moſes *or* John *the Divine, who wrote the* Revelation; *becauſe he muſt (as it were) bring an accompliſhment unto their Propheſies, and hath a more excellent ſpirit or work to do than they in ſome reſpects.*

Hacket's Anſwer.

To the third, That God would do a greater Work by him the ſaid William Hacket, *than ever he did by any of all the Prophets, for the eſtabliſhment of his Goſpel, to the confuſion of Satan and Antichriſt.*

Coppinger and *Arthington's* Speeches.

4. *That the ſaid* Hacket *had laid two ſeveral Charges in the name of Chriſt upon them two, which they muſt needs perform or execute; the one upon* Arthington *of Prophecy, concerning the end of the World; the other upon* Coppinger, *of painting out the good and bad in the World, or in theſe parts of the World; and one of them had in purpoſe or charge to read over the whole Bible for proof of their Office and Buſineſs.*

Hacket's

Hacket's Anſwer.

To the fourth, That God had ſent Arthington *to be the ſaid* Hacket *his Writer or Pen, and the ſaid* Coppinger *to be the Expounder of his Mind, or Deliverer of his Meſſage to the old Magiſtrates (which were almoſt gone) and to the New, and to the World.*

Coppinger and *Arthington's* Speeches.

That they had ſome ſight of the glory of the World to come, where they found that the Queen was highly in God's favour, becauſe ſhe had cut off much of Antichriſt's Force or Train: but, &c. 5.

That M. Cartwright *had done more againſt Antichriſt, than any in the World before him ſince the Apoſtles time; and that* Wigginton *was comparable unto him, and M.* Lancaſter *(meaning a Schoolmaſter in* Shoe-Lane*) was above them both, in the ſtate of heavenly glory, becauſe he had kept himſelf undefiled from the common Corruptions of theſe Times, and had a moſt ſingle heart to God.* 6.

Mutuùm muli ſcabunt.

Hacket's Anſwer.

To the fifth and ſixth, That men ſhould ſhortly turn their Spears into Mattocks for the making of a true or better Reformation, or elſe a great Plague, as it were Fire from Heaven ſhould fall upon them for their rebellion againſt God: And that

that the Queen was undone, and all we Preachers ſhould be damned, if we fall not to Reformation ſpeedily. And that he knew not of any ſuch Compariſons or Degrees to be in the ſeat of Glory; but ſure he was, although every man ſhould be rewarded according to his works, yet he that would be higheſt, ſhould be loweſt there, where all be as one in Chriſt.

7. 7. The ſeventh Article by them then uttered, is nothing but a lewd and ſlanderous railing againſt two of the ſaid Counſellors, whereunto *Wigginton* ſhapeth no Anſwer in *Hacket*'s behalf, belike allowing it; and therefore did not ask *Hacket* of it, becauſe himſelf made no doubt of the truth thereof, as it ſeemeth.

Coppinger and *Arthington*'s Speeches.

8. 8. *That many of the Preachers and People in* England *profeſſing Religion, were blind and careleſs in many things, yet the Servants of God to be ſaved upon repentance; and that ſome few which were more forward than others, ſhould have more honour, or higher places in Heaven than they.*

Hacket's Anſwer.

To the eighth; That it was true, ſo near as Wigginton *could call to remembrance.*

Coppinger

Coppinger and *Arthington*'s Speeches.

9. *That theſe things they would confirm unto him by God's Spirit out of his word: In the mean while, they both uſed vehement Proteſtations, that it was moſt true which they ſpake, and that their Doctrine was or ſhould be fetched out of the Third Heaven: and they would prove themſelves and* William Hacket *to be extraordinarily called and ſent of God as aforeſaid; and they exhorted him to be conſtant in the Truth.* Arthington *alſo pronounced* Wigginton *to be highly in God's favour, and aſſured him, that God's Spirit ſhould be doubled upon him.* 9.

Hacket's Anſwer.

To the ninth he avoucheth the full effect thereof, and he alſo pronounced Wigginton *to be highly in God's favour: And further told (after a bold and a reſolute manner) that he had appointed him, and ſome few others, to be Aſſiſtants to* Coppinger *and* Arthington *in their foreſaid Offices,* &c.

Beſides the Premiſſes, *Wigginton* hath ſet down (as pleaſed him beſt) a Dialogue had with *Coppinger* and *Arthington* at that time not worth the inſerting here: Yet this may be obſerved in it, that they then ſaid, *they would prove the things aforeſaid by God's Spirit (which was above his word) and by his Word alſo.* Note. Secondly, By *Wigginton* his own Report

port it appeareth, That they anſwered unto his Speeches very temperately, directly, and pertinently. Thirdly, It appeareth alſo therein, that he did not contradict any of their ſayings, nor rebuke them, nor found fault with the abſurdity and blaſphemy of their Opinions, and undutifulneſs of their Speeches, or danger of their Purpoſes, but only warned them to be wary, *&c.* leſt they might be illuded of the Devil: So leaving it at that time doubtful, whether he allowed them to be ſuch *extraordinary* Men or no.

Wigginton's *further Report.*

In his ſaid Narration he further ſheweth, That he asking *Hacket, when he ſaw the two Gentlemen?* Hacket *anſwered, They had been with him that Morning whilſt he lay in his Bed, and had ſuddenly departed from him with one cry, ſaying, Chriſt is come, Chriſt is come; whereat he ſaid he marvailed, not knowing what was their meaning in the matter:* Adding further, That *he had oft warned* Coppinger *to take heed of conceiving too much liking of his own ſpiritual Gifts, whom he perceived to be raviſhed with an exceeding love, and extraordinary care for the ſafety of his Miſtreſs, meaning the Queen's Majeſty, who (quoth* Hacket) *is undone* (and here is put an *&c.*) *For you and all other Preachers ſhall be damned, unleſs ſhe for her part, and you for your parts, do ſpeedily fall to Reformation.* *Wigginton* alſo ſaith further, That *Hacket* either at that time, or not long before, *did exhort him to deal faithfully in the Lord's buſineſs*; and that *he had heard* Hacket *pray ſome-*

ſometimes before, in ſtrange terms, as theſe and ſuch like, viz. *Father, I know thou loveſt me as well as thou loveſt thine own ſelf.* Thus when *Hacket* had anſwered *Wigginton*'s demands touching *Coppinger* and *Arthington*'s Speeches (as is afore ſet down) *he ſaid he would depart home into the Country; yet he would leave word behind, for his Adverſaries to know in what place they ſhould find him, if they were diſpoſed to call for him. And withal made great ſhew (after his former wonted manner) as though he neither feared Magiſtrate, nor cared for any puniſhment, nor doubted any danger to enſue upon him, for any thing he had done or ſaid, or ſhould go about.*

Now touching ſome things markable in this Narration of *Wigginton*'s. Firſt, If *Arthington* ſay true in his Confeſſions; That *Hacket* publiſhed not himſelf to have that Office of *Chriſt*, or his principal Spirit, till the very moment that they were to go into the City to proclaim (as they did) and if they went not unto *Hacket* that day till they had firſt been with *Wigginton*, which ſeemeth to be true; then could it not be, that *Wigginton* heard that of them two at that time, which he reporteth them to have ſpoken in the firſt, ſecond, third and fourth Article; and therefore he was made acquainted with it before that time. Secondly, That which he maketh *Hacket* to fumble about ſomewhat doubtfully in anſwer to the fourth Article (touching the old Magiſtrates that were gone, and

Remarks on Wigginton's *Narration.*

1.

2.

and of new) doth argue, that *Wigginton* was alſo made privy to the Intent of diſplacing all the old Counſellors, and placing of new,
3. as was plotted by the Conſpirators. Thirdly, Their lewd and malepert imputation of her *Majeſty*'s Honour to be blemiſhed, and affirming ſhe was undone, though it had been no more, were matters of that quality, that no dutiful or well-adviſed Subject would have either concealed, or ſo lightly paſſed
4. over as he did. Fourthly, It is probable, that *Hacket* meant rather to have Mattocks turned into Spears, than contrariwiſe; for I ſee no peaceable means that was thought
5. on by them. Fifthly, We may obſerve that here is a Reformation moved, which upon pain of damnation muſt be undertaken, and that with all ſpeed; even *Now*, (they ſay) wherein others beſide the *Queen* have their parts to perform in erecting of it; ſome whereof have alſo *extraordinary* Gifts and Callings to run in that courſe of Reforming; and *Wigginton* (being yet a Priſoner, but belike put in hope of ſpeedy deliverance by their means) is appointed a principal Aſſiſtant to them; yea, and is made privy unto ſome matter, for which *Hacket* thought he was not unlike to be afterward ſought for, and which he knew might be dangerous unto him, had he been ſuch a man, as any Magiſtrate, Puniſhment or Danger might have diſmayed, and yet not ſought to be revealed by *Wigginton* unto any Magiſtrate, till upon his examination it was found out.

out. Laſtly, I obſerve the *Coggery* of the Reporter, or elſe the lewd lying and contradiction to himſelf of that wretched Seducer *Hacket*. For in his Anſwer to the fifth and ſixth Articles, he knows no degrees of glory in Heaven; and yet in his Anſwer to the eighth, he aſſigneth more honour and higher places in Heaven unto ſome few that *are the moſt forward*, than he doth unto others. 6.

But let us go on with the Narration of the principal Action, interrupted by occaſion of the Conferences had with *Wigginton*, and of his report of them.

"From *Wigginton*'s Lodging the ſaid *Cop-* Hacket's *Hi-*
"*pinger* and *Arthington* came directly to *ſtory continued.*
"*Hacket*'s Chamber in *Walker*'s Houſe at
"*Broken Wharf*, and there found the Beaſt
"in Bed after Eight of the Clock: Where
"being enflamed (they ſay) with zeal out
"of all meaſure, *Coppinger* began to pray at
"the Bed's feet, and *Arthington* joined with
"him; wherein they ſtood much upon
"their own unworthineſs, *&c.* but yet of-
"fered their obedience to do as the Lord
"ſhould direct them by his Spirit, having
"already done ſo much as was enjoined
"them. Whereupon *Hacket* came out of
"his Bed, and prayed with them in his
"Shirt twice, that the Spirit might direct
"them, and they likewiſe obey the ſame
"in all things, to the glory of God only.
"After *Hacket*'s latter Prayer, *Coppinger* of-

" fered to go on in his Prayer, but the De-
" viliſh Spirit moved *Arthington* to interrupt
" him, and to charge him in the Name of
" the Lord *Jeſus* to ariſe and anoint the
" King with the Holy Ghoſt. Whereupon
" *Coppinger* ſtraightway roſe up, and three
" times kiſſed the Boards under his feet, ri-
" ſing up after every time, and making
" great reverence with bowed knee; and
" after the third time he came towards
" *Hacket* as he lay in his Bed, who put out
" his hand, and took *Coppinger* by the hand,
Blaſphemy. " and ſaid, *You ſhall not need to anoint me,*
" *for I have been already anointed in Heaven by*
" *the Holy Ghoſt himſelf.* Then *Coppinger* ask-
" ed him, what his pleaſure was to be done,
" *Go your way both* (ſaid he, as *Arthington*
" reports) *and tell them in the City, that Chriſt*
" *Jeſus is come with his Fan in his hand to*
" *judge the Earth. And if any man ask you*
" *where he is, tell them he lies at* Walker's
" *Houſe by* Broken Wharf: *and if they will*
" *not believe it, let them come and kill me, if*
" *they can; for as truly as Chriſt Jeſus is in Hea-*
" *ven, ſo truly is he come to judge the world.*
" Then *Coppinger* ſaid it ſhould be done forth-
" with; and thereupon went forward, and
" *Arthington* followed ſo readily the ſaid *Pro-*
" *phet of Mercy*, that he had no leiſure to take
" his Gloves with him, and ere *Arthington*
" could get down the Stairs, *Coppinger* had
" begun (in the Houſe below) to proclaim
" News from Heaven of exceeding great
" Mercy: That *Chriſt Jeſus* was come, *&c.*

" as

" as above is ſaid, with whom *Arthington* al-
" ſo cried the ſame words aloud, following
" him along the Streets from thence by
" *Watling-ſtreet* and *Old Change*, towards
" *Cheapſide*, they both adding beyond their
" Commiſſion, theſe words, *Repent* Eng-
" land, *Repent*. But ſurely either their
" Commiſſion was delivered them (at one
" time or other) more largely than the one
" of them now reporteth; or elſe they went
" beyond and exceeded it in many other
" material Points beſides this. For after
" they both had thus come (with mighty
" concourſe of the common multitude as to
" ſuch a novelty of hearing two new Pro-
" phets in theſe days ariſen was likely) with
" an uniform cry into *Cheapſide* near unto
" the Croſs: and there finding the throng
" and preſs of People to encreaſe about
" them, in ſuch ſort as that they could not
" well paſs further, nor be conveniently
" heard of them all, as they deſired; there-
" fore they got them up into an empty Cart
" which ſtood there, and out of that choiſe
" Pulpit (for ſuch a purpoſe) made their
" lewd and traiterous preachment unto the
" People: wherein they ſtood not only up-
" on the words of their former cry, but (ſo
" near as I could learn from ſo common an
" Auditory, and in ſo confuſed an Action)
" they reading ſomething out of a Paper,
" went more particularly over the Office
" and Calling of *Hacket*; how he repreſent-
" ed *Chriſt*, by partaking a part of his glo-

" rified Body; by his principal Spirit, and
" by the Office of ſevering the Good from
" the Bad with his Fan in his hand, and of
" eſtabliſhing the Goſpel in *Europe* (which
" as it ſeemeth they took to be all the
" World, or elſe ſuppoſed, that all *Europe*
" did profeſs *Chriſtianity*) and of bringing in
" that *Diſcipline* which they ſo often babble
" of, and which they mean by the term of
" *Reformation, and the holy Cauſe:* That he
" was now come, and all theſe things were
" preſently to be performed by him, telling
" alſo the People where they ſaw him,
" where he lay and remained: That they
" were two *Prophets*, the one of *Mercy*, the
" other of *Judgment*, ſent, and *extraordina-*
" *rily* called by God to aſſiſt him in this great
" Work, and were Witneſſes of theſe things:
" confirming the ſame upon their own Sal-
" vation, and wiſhing themſelves confound-
" ed and damned for ever, if theſe things
" they ſpoke, were not true. And there-
" upon, the one of them pronounced *Mer-*
" *cy*, great Comfort, and unſpeakable Joys
" to all that ſhould repent preſently, be
" obedient, and embrace this acceptable
" Meſſage and opportunity offered: And
" the other denounced terrible *Judgments*,
" if they repented not, which ſhould even
" preſently (alſo) fall upon them, and eſ-
" pecially upon that City of *London*; affirm-
" ing that all that believed them not, were
" condemned Body and Soul. This Judg-
" ment againſt *London* (as *Arthington* the

" pre-

" pretended *Prophet* of *Judgment*, ſaith he " gathered out of *Hacket's Hiſtory)* was, that " men ſhould (there) kill and maſſacre one " another (as Butchers do kill Swine) all " the day long, and no man ſhould take " compaſſion of them. There was then and " there further delivered by them, or by the " one of them, that *Hacket* was King of " *Europe*, and ſo ought to be obeyed and " taken; and that all Kings muſt hold of " him, and that the *Queen's Majeſty* had for- " feited her Crown, and was worthy to be " deprived. Which moſt traiterous Point " amongſt others *Hacket* enjoined them to " publiſh, as in the one of his Indictments " is contained. Laſtly, In very unman- " nerly and ſawcy terms they prayed to " God to confound two great Lords of her " Majeſty's Counſel; for theſe two, (toge- " ther with a certain Knight) they then and " there openly and moſt lewdly accuſed in " general terms of Treaſon. This outrage " was done the ſixteenth day of *July* afore- " ſaid, about Ten of the Clock, or ſome- " thing after, in the Forenoon.

" By which their Proclamation, being " laid together with their former Confe- " rences, Letters, and Purpoſes againſt the " *Queen* and *Counſel*, and for advancing of " *Hacket*, and for altering the State, with " the very time (when ſo many Soldiers " were about the City) it is evident to any, " who hath but half an eye to ſee with, " that they intended and hoped to move

" Tumult and Sedition: That by many " hands of the common multitude (which " they brag of, ſaying, they *are already in-* " *flamed with zeal*) they might have brought " all their Purpoſes at length to a ſure and " ſpeedy concluſion; which deſignment, for " their pretended *Reformation*, this ſort of " People do greatly lament, ſo long to have " been fruſtrated, after ſo many other ſe- " veral kind of means, in vain attempted " by them. But God (*who ſtayeth the ra-* " *ging of the waters, and the madneſs of his* " *people*) did fruſtrate them herein of their " purpoſe and expectation: his Name be al- " ways praiſed therefore.

" And whereas they had purpoſed to have " gone with the like cry and proclamation " through other the chief parts of the City, " the preſs (not of Officers to take them, " but of common People to gaze and won- " der at them) was ſo great, as that they " were forced to go into a Tavern in *Cheap-* " *ſide*, at the Sign of the *Mermaid*; the ra- " ther, becauſe a Gentleman in a white " Doublet, being of his Acquaintance, pluck- " ed at *Coppinger* whilſt he was in the Cart, " and rebuked him for his ſtrange and lewd " Demeanour and Speeches.

" Whereupon (though *Arthington* were " offended with the ſaid Gentleman for " touching a Prophet of God in ſo rough a " ſort as he ſaid) yet they were both con- " tented to ſtep aſide into the ſaid Tavern " with him; where when they had remain-

" ed

" ed a ſpace, *Coppinger* was perſuaded by one " of the aforeſaid *Lawſon*'s Men, that ſtaid " there at that time (for avoiding the won- " dring and preſs of the People) to ſtep " over into *Woodſtreet*, and from thence by " back Lanes to his Siſter's Houſe near unto " *Paul's Wharf*, where he lodged. But whilſt " they two were going together, *Coppinger* " was very careful to know whether *Ar-* " *thington* followed them or not; inſomuch " as he would not be ſatisfied, till the ſaid " Apprentice went back again for him. At " whoſe coming back, he found *Arthing-* " *ton* ſtill publiſhing his foreſaid Meſſages to " the People, and telling them of *Hacket*, " and of his Office, with whom *Arthington* " was content alſo at laſt to go by the ſame " Streets that *Coppinger* had gone, but yet " crying (as he did afore) *Repent* England, " *Repent*, &c. When in this ſort they two " were come together to *Coppinger*'s Lodging, " they found the Gates ſhut againſt them; " whereupon the ſaid Apprentice would " have had *Arthington* to have gone to his " own Lodging, but he would needs go to " *Walker*'s Houſe at *Broken Wharf*, where not " long before he left *Hacket*. All the way " that *Arthington* went, he was followed by " a great multitude of Lads and young Per- " ſons of the meaner ſort: But at his com- " ing to *Walker*'s Houſe, *Hacket* was not " yet returned out of the City from *Wig-* " *ginton*.

" After that *Arthington* was entred the " Houſe, he was there ſtaid by one *Edward* " *Jones*, an honeſt Citizen: And when " *Hacket* (not long after) came in, *Ar-* " *thington* ſaid, There cometh the King of " the Earth. But *Hacket* willed him to keep " ſilence, telling him he was too outragious: " whereupon he ſtraightway (in very du- " tiful manner) obeyed; for he called " *Hacket* his Captain, and ſaid, That he " would do whatſoever he commanded him " to do.

" When the ſaid *Jones* (in ſearching " about *Arthington*) found a Writing in his " Sleeve, *Arthington* ſaid, That fell out as " he would have it, for now it would be " ſeen; for he had made (he ſaid) an Epi- " ſtle to the *Queen*, and ſhe would not re- " ceive it, and therefore ſhe was (he ſaid) " no longer *Queen*, but was deprived of her " Crown, *Hacket* ſaying nothing there- " unto.

" There was found alſo in *Hacket*'s Cham- " ber, hidden at the Bed's-feet, many Wri- " tings; and *Walker* (the Owner of the " Houſe) brought alſo unto the ſaid *Jones* " other Writings of theirs out of a Stable.

" And when Maſter *Heyney*, Parſon of " the Church of St. *Mary-Somerſets*, an ho- " neſt and learned Preacher, looked on one " of the ſaid Papers, *Hacket* reproving him, " ſaid, that it appertained not unto him, " but unto the Magiſtrates, to look on them.

" *Ar-*

" *Arthington* (in Speeches with the ſaid " *Heyney*) ſaid amongſt other things, That " the Judgments of God over that City were " very great, and that the time was now " come, that God would reform his Church " univerſally, and root out all Idolatrous " Prieſts, and that the Miniſters of that Ci- " ty were no better; affirming himſelf to " be a *Prophet* ſent purpoſely from God to " denounce his Judgments, and that *Coppin-* " *ger* was a greater Prophet than he: That " *Cartwright* was a great learned Man, and a " Saint of God; but *Wigginton* was leſs learn- " ed than he, yet far before him in Dig- " nity for his Zeal; always concluding his " Speeches with theſe words of imprecation " againſt himſelf, viz. *elſe God confound me.*

" When the ſaid Preacher demanded of " *Hacket*, why he had ſeduced *Arthington* to " bring him into ſuch Blaſphemies? his An- " ſwer was, that abundance of Zeal did " cauſe him to exceed in that ſort. Then " he asked *Hacket*, how he liked that *Ar-* " *thington* aſcribed unto him an Office pecu- " liar to *Chriſt*? To which he would not " directly anſwer, but ſaid, that God had a " great Work to bring to paſs by himſelf in " this Land; affirming that himſelf alſo was " a *Prophet*, and had endited that *Prophecy* " (which *Arthington* writ) to be ſent to the " *Queen* or *Counſel*, and that he prayed to " God to direct *Arthington*'s Pen therein.

" This ſtrange Accident being quickly " blown through the City, all was in a buz,

" and

" and in a kind of aſtoniſhment, what to
" think of the matter: And being ſpeedily
" brought to her *Majeſty*'s ears, (then lying
" but at *Greenwich*) two of her honourable
" Counſel were preſently diſpatched unto
" *London*, to take further notice of the whole
" matter. About One of the Clock in the
" Afternoon *Coppinger* was ſent for, whilſt
" *Hacket* and *Arthington* were brought be-
" fore thoſe honourable Counſellors and
" others at the *Lord Mayors* to be examined:
" but (as is informed) they would not ſhew
" any token of duty or reverence unto thoſe
" honourable Perſons, not ſo much as by
" putting off their Hats unto them. Then
" their Hats were plucked off by others, and
" they were told their duties, and were ask-
" ed whether they did not know before
" whom they ſtood? To which they an-
" ſwered, that they knew them right well;
" nevertheleſs they would yield them no du-
" ty nor reverence, inſomuch as themſelves
" (they ſaid) were greater Perſons than
" thoſe before whom they were convented,
" yet they ſeemed well content to ſtand bare-
" headed, ſo their Hats were taken off by
" force, and not put off by their own wills.
" This courſe of inſolent behaviour towards
" all that examined them, both *Hacket* and
" *Arthington* held on at ſundry other their
" Examinations. Nevertheleſs, *Arthington*
" that was ſo ſcrupulous to yield any reve-
" rence to the *Queen's Counſel*, and *Officers*,
" at one time when he ſaw *Hacket*, preſent-

" ly

" ly fell down groveling upon his face on " the ground and honoured him, according " to the Convention among them mention- " ed before. And albeit both theſe conti- " nued ſtill reſolute in their former Fancies, " conceived of their *extraordinary* Callings " and Offices, and ſought moſt abſurdly to " defend it by Scripture, (but chiefly by " moſt terrible Imprecations unto them- " ſelves, praying to be confounded and " damned if they ſaid not true:) yet to all " Queſtions that were asked of them, they " anſwered (though moſt confidently) yet " pertinently, and directly to purpoſe, ſay- " ing, That *Hacket* uſed the matter ſome- " what more craftily, when any Queſtion " of eſpecial danger was propounded unto " him. For then would he by cunning Eva- " ſions, by Cavils, and by fruſtratory kinds of " Anſwers go about to put off ſuch Interro- " gatories, ſeeming when he was preſſed " ſomewhat hard, to be weary of his Part " and Perſon put on, if he could have then " told how to have ſhaken it off, and been " rid of it again with any honeſty.

" *Coppinger* (ſoon after his firſt examina- " tion) finding the event of things not to " anſwer their expectations, ſeeing alſo the " matter ſomewhat warmly taken (as there " was good cauſe) and thereby gathering " the danger which he and his Complices " ſtood in, and perceiving alſo (by the " Queſtions asked) the intercepting of their " Writings and Letters, whereby their deal-

" ings

" ings were at full diſcovered and brought
" to light; began, either by his own vo-
" luntary choiſe (as ſome perhaps not un-
" probably have imagined) or through anx-
" iety (indeed) of mind, growing forth of
" the badneſs of the Cauſe, to behave him-
" ſelf as a Man diſtracted of his Wits. In-
" ſomuch as coming at one time to be exa-
" mined, and finding *Hacket* there, at his
" ſight he preſently roared out in a very
" ſtrange and horrible kind of voice; which
" *Hacket* willing to turn to the beſt, ſtraight-
" way ſaid, It was no marvail, though *Cop-*
" *pinger* did now ſo behave himſelf, for that
" he had given him over already unto So-
" tan.

" By peruſal of their Writings and Let-
" ters, and by their Examinations, all the
" Plots of Treaſon and Lewdneſs (afore
" mentioned) fell out very evidently, and
" more at full againſt them.

" Touching the *Queen's-Arms* defaced at
" *Kaye's* Houſe, *Hacket* did confeſs, at the
" times of his examination, that he did it,
" none other being preſent, and that he was
" moved thereunto inwardly by the Spirit,
" to take away her whole Power of her Au-
" thority; and that he would have done
" worſe, had it not been for diſquieting his
" Hoſteſs where he lay, becauſe when ſhe
" found it, ſhe was very angry therewith:
" For he was not ſorry, neither is ſorry (as
" he then ſaid) for doing the Act, becauſe
" he was commanded by God to do it, and

" durſt

" durſt do no otherwiſe. He confeſſed alſo,
" that he was likewiſe moved to put out the
" Lions and the Dragons Eyes in the Arms;
" but being asked why he did ſo? he bit-
" terly and maliciouſly anſwered, that he
" did know that Lions and Dragons did af-
" flict God's People. He did alſo raze out
" the Croſs that was pictured on the top of
" the Crown. He further confeſſed, That
" he meant alſo her Majeſty's Counſel
" ſhould be removed, becauſe they weré (he
" ſaid) wicked; and that he himſelf (being
" moved by the Spirit) would have placed
" certain other new Counſellors (whom he
" then named) to wait upon the *Queen*, and
" to reform Religion. It is alſo confeſſed
" by him, that he told *Arthington* and others,
" that he was the anointed King of *Europe*.
" By the Depoſitions of the ſaid *Kaye* and his
" Wife, it appeareth, that they finding,
" (about a fortnight before *Hacket*'s depar-
" ture from them) the *Queen's Majeſty*'s
" Picture pricked with ſome Bodkin or Iron
" Inſtrument in the very place repreſenting
" her Royal Heart, did in great anger charge
" *Hacket* with it. Whereunto he anſwered,
" that he had done it, and muſt and would
" anſwer it; adding, he had greater Mat-
" ters to anſwer than that, and therefore
" (ſaid he) you need not make ſuch ado
" for it. But *Hacket* at all his Examinations
" either denied this Point flatly, or ſaid, he
" did not remember it. This Noble Heart,
" which thereby he ſo trayterouſly deſpited,

" God

" God of his infinite mercy long bleſs and
" continue ſtill moſt happy and hearty in his
" love and fear, within her Majeſties ſacred
" breaſt, maugre all ſuch execrable fiery
" ſpirits and hell-hounds in earth, and all
" the damned devils in hell. Amen.

" Likewiſe he confeſſed, that he moved
" and ſent forth *Coppinger* and *Arthington*, to
" go whither God ſhould ſend them, and to
" declare and publiſh, that there lay a Man
" (namely he the ſaid *Hacket*) at *Walker*'s
" Houſe, which made claim to the Crown
" of *England*, and that *her Majeſty* had for-
" feited her Crown, in that her Miniſters
" have uſed extraordinary means to ſet up
" Religion. This he confeſſed on the 21ſt
" and 23d of *July*. But at his former exa-
" mination on the 19th of *July*, being de-
" manded whether he would acknowledg
" that the *Queen's Majeſty* is Lawful Queen
" of *England* or not? he ſubtilly then ſaid,
" he would not anſwer to that Queſtion,
" but ſaid ſhe was *Queen of England yet*, if ſhe
" had not forfeited the ſame. And he fur-
" ther confeſſed (on 23d of *July*) that he
" Firſt publiſhed in *Hamp-ſhire* (about Three
" or Four Years paſt) and afterwards in
" *Hartford-ſhire*, and in *Northampton-ſhire*, that
" her *Majeſty* was not *Queen*, and that ſhe
" had forfeited her Title to the *Crown*: And
" that he told *Arthington* ſo much in *Trinity*
" Term. All theſe aforeſaid, were confeſ-
" ſed by him, without any Torture: but
" being Tortur'd, he then Sang another

" Song,

" Song, and confeſſed her *Majeſty* to be his " lawful *Queen*, and affirm'd, that he Ho- " noured her, and was Sorry for his Of- " fence: adding, that if *Coppinger*, *Wiggin-* " *ton*, and one other (whom he named) " were well ſifted, and ſtraightly examined, " they would utter and declare ſundry mat- " ters of Treaſon.

" It fell out beſides upon depoſition of " *Kayes*, that *Coppinger* (being told how " *Hacket* had uſed the *Queens* Picture and the " Arms) at the firſt ſeemed to miſlike with " it, ſaying, that if he were ſuch a fellow, " he had done with him; but (ſaith he) " you muſt bear with him: for ſome great " men have alſo born with him, and he is " with you, but as it were a Priſoner.

" *Coppinger* himſelf alſo at that his exami- " nation (which was taken the 19th of " *July*) confeſſed, that the Letter then " ſhewed to him, (and inſerted afore) was " the Copy of a Letter which he ſent to the " ſaid *John Udall* about ten weeks then paſt, " and that the cauſe why he wrote to *Udall* " that *he uſed not to repair unto him and the reſt* " *who were in priſon, ſo often as he was wont* " *to do, for doubt of more trouble and danger* " *that might grow to them thereby*, was, *in reſ-* " *pect of this action, which he had to do:* He " alſo then affirmed, that the *Queens Majeſty*, " *Queen Elizabeth*, is not *Queen* of *England*, " neither is he (as he ſaid) now her ſervant, " for *Hacket* is the only King of the World, " and that *Hacket* was commanded by God

" to

" to deface her Majeſties Arms which were " in the Houſe where he then lay, and that " *Hacket* alſo prick'd the Picture of the *Queens* " *Majeſty* at the Heart. That himſelf, *Wig-* " *ginton*, and one other (the very Week " afore *Wigginton* was committed) had a Faſt " together, where they Prayed, that if any " of them ſhould have any *extraordinary* cal- " ling, they might have ſome *extraordinary* " ſeal of it: about the which time, he the " ſaid *Coppinger* was called in a Dream. And " that he (together with *Arthington*, and one " other) had a former Faſt at the aforeſaid " *Lancaſter's* Houſe, about one Week afore " that time: and that her Majeſties Coun- " ſel (that now are) muſt be Tryed by " this King, whether they are to be remov'd " from *her Majeſty* or not: and that ſhe is " to have to be about her to attend her Per- " ſon (for the time) ſuch as himſelf ſhould " aſſign, which ſhall be thoſe, whom he " hath named in a Letter of his, that is " found with him: and ſome others alſo (he " ſaid) were meant to have been aſſigned " alſo for that purpoſe.

" There fell out alſo upon ſome of *Arthing-* " *ton's* Examinations (while he remained ob- " ſtinate) certain other points not unwor- " thy to be remembred. One was, that " whereas he, in writing of a treatiſe againſt " the ſtate of this Church as it now ſtand- " eth, obſerved (as he ſaith) therein his " old want to abſtain from bitter ſpeeches " and raylings, as a thing which he naturally

" abhor-

" abhorred: yet within theſe few Months,
" and after he had entred into theſe actions,
" he had altred his opinion, and was moved,
" in ſpirit, to follow another ſharp and bi-
" ting courſe of Writing, as being more
" convenient in his judgment. Alſo, when
" ſome that examined him, ſtood greatly
" upon this point, to perſuade him, that he
" was ſeduced in thoſe things wherein he
" ſeemed ſo reſolute: and reaſoned againſt
" ſuch their pretended *extraordinary* callings,
" gifts, and offices: then he (for better con-
" firmation thereof) ſaid; that it ſhould very
" ſhortly appear to the world, that they
" were no ſuch ſeduced perſons, as was ima-
" gined. For whereas a godly Gentlewoman
" in *London* (ſo he termed her) had been
" by the ſpace of 14 years poſſeſſed with
" a Devil, (as is afore touched) that (for
" a ſure ſign of their vocation) the ſaid
" Devil ſhould be thrown out of her, by all,
" or ſome of their three means, very ſhort-
" ly. He alſo perſiſted wilful in his former
" fancies, until the very time that he knew
" *Hacket* was hanged; for until that day, he
" very confidently affirmed, that he was
" moſt aſſured by the Spirit of God, and
" by the joys and comfort he inwardly felt,
" that *Hacket* did participate with *Chriſt* in a
" part of his office, and was indeed King of
" all *Europe*, on whom *her Majeſty* and all
" other, muſt hold their crowns and ſcepters,
" and muſt govern (if they would continue
" their government) by ſuch Laws, as he

" ſhould preſcribe and ſet forth: That all they
" three ſhould ſhortly be diſmiſſed, and
" ſhould go over-Sea with *Hacket*, to take
" poſſeſſion of all thoſe his other Kingdoms
" abroad, and to perform their *Offices*. But
" when the vanity and danger of this ſtrange
" fancy was opened unto him, his anſwer
" was to this effect: You think (ſaith he
" ſomewhat pleaſantly, as it were pitying
" their error and miſconceit) that we have
" incurred the danger of laws herein; and
" that we ſhall therefore be put to death:
" but as ſure as God is in Heaven, the ſword
" ſhall not come near to hurt us, neither ſhall
" any man be able to touch the leaſt hair of
" any of our heads.

Hacket *comes to his Tryal.*

" Thus, the mean time (for the moſt part
" thereof) from *Friday* the 16th of *July*,
" until *Monday* ſevennight after, being ſpent
" in examinations, it was thought good, that
" *Hacket* ſhould then come to his Tryal: on
" which day (being the 26th of *July*) he
" was brought from *Bridewell* to the Seſſi-
" ons-houſe near *Newgate*, before the *Lord*
" *Mayor*, the *Lord Wentworth*, *Sir Gilbert Ger-*
" *rard* Knight, Maſter of the Rolls, *Sir Wal-*
" *ſtane Dixie*, and *Sir Richard Martin* Knights,
" *Mr. Sergeant Fleetwood* Recorder of *London*,
" *Mr. Daniel* and others in that Commiſſion:
" where after the Grand Jury was Empan-
" nelled, the Witneſſes that ſhould give evi-
" dence Sworn, and two ſeveral Indictments
" againſt him found, *Hacket* was willed to
" hold up his hand, which he did: then the
" firſt

" firſt Indictment was read being of this te-
" nour being turned into *Engliſh*, viz.

The Jury do preſent for the Queen, *That* William Hacket *late of* Oundel *in the County of* Northampton *Yeoman, as a falſe Traytor againſt the moſt excellent and Chriſtian Princeſs our Sovereign Lady* Elizabeth, *by the grace of God, of* England, France, *and* Ireland, *Queen, defender of the Faith, &c. his natural and Sovereign liege Lady, having not the fear of God in his heart, nor weighing his due allegiance, but ſeduced by the inſtigation of the Devil, maliciouſly and traiterouſly, compaſſing, imagining, deviſing, and intending the deprivation and depoſing of our ſaid Sovereign Lady* Elizabeth, *from her honour and royal name of the* Imperial *Crown of this Realm of* England, *on the 21ſt day of* July, *in the 33d year of the reign of our Sovereign Lady* Elizabeth *now Queen of* England, *at* London, *that is to ſay, in the Pariſh of St.* Brides *in the Ward of* Farringdon extra London, *and divers other days and times, betwixt the 12th of* February *laſt paſt, and the 25th day of* July, *in the ſaid 33d year of her Majeſties Reign, as well in the Pariſh and Ward aforeſaid, as elſewhere in* London *aforeſaid, of his own perverſe and traiterous mind, and imagination, maliciouſly, expreſly, adviſedly, directly, and traiterouſly in the preſence and hearing of ſundry faithful Subjects of our ſaid Sovereign Lady, theſe falſe, malicious, and traiterous Engliſh words following, concerning our ſaid Sovereign Lady the* Queen's Majeſty, *falſly, maliciouſly, adviſedly,* *The Indictment.* London ſſ.

expreſly, directly, and traiterouſly ſaid, rehearſed, publiſhed, and ſpoke, viz. *That the Queen's Majeſty (meaning thereby our ſaid Sovereign Lady* Queen Elizabeth *) was not Queen of* England: *and that the Queen's Majeſty (meaning thereby our ſaid Sovereign* Queen Elizabeth) *did repreſent all hypocriſy, and had forfeited her Crown, and was worthy to be deprived, and that he had been of that opinion this four years: and that he defaced her Arms in* Kayes *houſe (thereby meaning the houſe of one* Ralph Kayes *ſituate and being in* Knightrider-ſtreet *in the Pariſh of St.* Gregory *near* Pauls *in the Ward of* Baynard's Caſtle London *) to take away her whole power of her Authority, and was moved thereunto by the ſpirit, and that he neither was, nor is ſorry therefore, to the great ſcandal and derogation of the perſon and Royalty of our ſaid Sovereign Lady the Queen, and to the ſubverſion of the State of this Realm of* England, *and contrary to the form of a ſtatute in this caſe made and provided, and alſo againſt the peace of our ſaid Sovereign Lady, her Crown and dignities,* &c.

He pleads guilty.

Being asked whether he were guilty to this Indictment or not? he confeſſed and pleaded guilty: adding this, *All muſt be as you will.* Whereupon Mr. *Attorney-General* deſired for the Queen, his confeſſion of the Indictment might be entred. Then *Hacket* being again bidden to hold up his hand, he did ſo accordingly: whereupon the ſecond Indictment

Indictment was read being in *Engliſh* as followeth, viz.

The Jury preſents for the Queen: That William Hacket *late of* Oundel *in the County of* Northampton *Yeoman, as a falſe traitor againſt the moſt excellent and Chriſtian Princeſs our Sovereign Lady* Elizabeth *by the grace of God of* England, France, *and* Ireland, *Queen, defender of the Faith, &c. Having not the fear of God in his heart, nor weighing his due allegiance, but ſeduced by the Inſtigation of the Devil, and intending wholly to withdraw, put out, and extinguiſh the hearty love, and the true and due obedience, which a true and faithful ſubject of the Queen's ſhould bear, and by law is bound to bear, towards our ſaid Sovereign Lady the Queen; the firſt day of* July *in the 33d year of the Reign of the ſaid Queen, at* London, *in the Pariſh of S.* Gregory *near* Paul's *in the Ward of* Caſtle-Baynard London, *falſly, maliciouſly, and traiterouſly intended, imagined, went about, and compaſſed, the ſaid Queen his Sovereign and natural liege Lady, not only from her Royal ſtate, title, power, and government of this Realm of* England, *utterly to deprive, depoſe, caſt down, and diſherit, but alſo to bring and put the ſaid Queen's Majeſty to death, and final deſtruction, and ſedition in the ſaid Realm of* England *to raiſe up, levy and make: and alſo wholly to ſubvert and deſtroy the ſtate of this whole Commonwealth, being in and throughout every part thereof, well conſtituted and ordered. And to the intent he might fulfil and bring to paſs thoſe his aforeſaid traiterous* Second Indictment. London ſſ.

purpoſes, imaginations, compaſſings, and intents, the ſaid William Hacket *afterward, that is to ſay, the ſaid firſt day of* July, *in the 33d year of the Reign of the* Queen's Majeſty *that now is, did come to the manſion houſe of one* Ralph Kayes, *ſituate and being in* Knight-rider-ſtreet *in the ſaid Pariſh of St.* Gregory *in the Ward aforeſaid: and then and there, maliciouſly, deviliſhly, and traiterouſly, raced and defaced the Arms of the Queen's Majeſty then and there in the ſaid houſe being, with this intent, traiterouſly to take away, put down, and overthrow the power of Authority of the ſaid Queen. And that the ſaid* William Hacket *for further accompliſhing and effecting of his ſaid traiterous purpoſes, imaginations, compaſſings, and intents, the ſaid firſt day of* July, *in the ſaid 33d year of her Majeſties reign, in the houſe of the ſaid* Ralph Kayes, *ſituate in the pariſh and ward aforeſaid, did traiterouſly raze a certain Picture of the Queen's Majeſty, then and there in the ſaid houſe likewiſe being: and then and there did maliciouſly and traiterouſly put in and thruſt an Iron Inſtrument into that part of the ſaid Picture, that did repreſent the Breaſt and Heart of the Queen's Majeſty. And afterward, that is to ſay, on the 16th day of* July *in the 33d year of the reign of the Queen's Majeſty that now is, the ſaid* William Hacket, *traiterouſly came to the houſe of one* John Walker *ſituate and being in the Pariſh of St.* Mary Somerſet *in the Ward of* Queen-hith *in* London *aforeſaid, with intent traiterouſly to confer and treat with one* Edmund Coppinger *Gent. and* Henry Arthington *Gent. concerning his traiterous purpoſes,*

purpoſes, imaginations, compaſſings, and intents aforeſaid. And that the ſaid William Hacket *afterward, that is to ſay, on the 16th day of* July *in the 33d year of the Reign of the Queen's Majeſty that now is, at* London *aforeſaid in the houſe of the ſaid* John Walker, *in the foreſaid Pariſh of St.* Mary Somerſet *in the ſaid Ward of* Queenhith *in* London, *of his own perverſe and traiterous mind and imagination, maliciouſly, adviſedly, expreſly, and traiterouſly did treat and had conference with the ſaid* Edmund Coppinger *and* Henry Arthington, *by what ways, means, and manner, the ſaid traiterous purpoſes, imaginations, compaſſings, and intents, might be accompliſhed and brought to paſs. And thereupon on the ſaid 16th day of* July, *in the ſaid 33d year, in the ſaid houſe of* John Walker *aforeſaid, ſituate and being in the ſaid Pariſh of Saint* Mary Somerſet *in the ſaid Ward of* Queenhith London, *in the preſence and hearing of the ſaid* Edmund Coppinger *and* Henry Arthington *(being then and there in the ſaid houſe) the ſaid* Hacket *theſe falſe traiterous* Engliſh *words following, of our ſaid Sovereign* Queen Elizabeth, *falſly, maliciouſly, adviſedly, expreſly, directly and traiterouſly, ſaid, rehearſed, publiſhed and ſpoke, viz. That the Queen's Majeſty, (meaning our ſaid Sovereign Lady* Queen Elizabeth, *had forfeited her Crown, and was worthy to be deprived. And that furthermore the ſaid* William Hacket *thereupon, the ſaid 16th day of* July *in the ſaid 33d year, in the ſaid houſe of* John Walker *ſituate in the Pariſh of St.* Mary Somerſet *in the ſaid Ward of*

Queen-hith London, *maliciouſly, and traiterouſly moved and ſtirred up the ſaid* Edmund Coppinger, *and* Henry Arthington, *traiterouſly and openly to publiſh and declare in* London *aforeſaid, that the Queen's Majeſty that now is, had forfeited her Crown, to the great offence and derogation of the perſon of the Queen's Majeſty, and to the ſubverſion of the ſtate of this Realm of* England, *and contrary to the peace of our ſaid Sovereign Lady, her crown and dignities, &c.*

To this he anſwers perverſly.

" And being likewiſe asked whether he " were guilty to this Indictment or not, " (belike perceiving that he was already " plunged in far enough) he began then to " anſwer more perverſly, ſaying to the Bench, " *You have wit enough to judge for me and your " ſelves too*: Being asked the ſame again, he " ſaid, *Few words are beſt; it is good to know " much and to ſay little*: And being divers " times asked, he ſtill repeated theſe words. " Then being told, that if he ſhould perſiſt " in that ſort, not to plead directly as by " Law he ought, it could not ſerve his turn, " for that alone was ſufficient of it ſelf to " condemn him of the Treaſon: and being " asked again, whether he were guilty or " not, he ſaid, *Ambo*. But ſome further good " advertiſements being given unto him, at

At laſt pleads not guilty.

" laſt (after much ado) he pleaded, Not " guilty, to that ſecond Indictment. There- " upon being asked, by whom he would be " Tried, he ſaid, By the Country: But be- " ing told he ought to ſay, *By God and by*

" *the*

" *the Country*, he ſaid, That he would be
" tried by the *Jury*. And therewithal burſt *He blaſphemes,*
" out into ſuch blaſphemous and helliſh words
" againſt the *Majeſty* of God (in truth, not
" to be heard by Chriſtian ears, and there-
" fore not to be uttered or repeated here)
" that they were to the great aſtoniſhment
" and horror of all, and deteſtation of him
" with all the hearers. It may be that he *Intending to*
" hoped thereby to induce the Judges to an *induce the*
" opinion that he was mad and furious ; *Court to be-*
" albeit in his countenance, geſture, atten- *lieve him mad.*
" tiveneſs to that which was ſpoken, ſilence
" when he ought, holding up his hand
" when he was commanded, perceiving
" the effect of all was ſpoken, pertinent
" (though ſometimes perverſe) anſwers,
" through all that action, no tokens of any
" fury or madneſs at all could be noted in
" him.

" Some have imagined that the Illuſion of
" the Devil was ſo ſtrong, to perſuade him
" of an immunity from all danger, accord-
" ing to his former conceived Opinions,
" that thereby he grew to ſuch a deviliſh
" impatience againſt God, when as now he
" ſaw himſelf to be brought to more appa-
" rent danger than (happily) he ſuppoſed
" there ever would be cauſe for him to fear.
" Which thing ſeemeth more probable to
" have been the occaſion thereof; for that
" immediately after his Blaſphemy, he alſo
" uſed theſe words ; *God Almighty is above,*
" *and will he not revenge?* But ſeeing he could
" not

Not pleading as he ought, the Queen's Attorney demands Judgment to be enter'd. No Evidence being heard.

" not be brought to any other Plea, the " *Queen's Attorney-General* deſired in behalf " of the *Queen*, That Judgment thereupon " might be entred. And ſeeing he pleaded " Guilty to the one, and ſtood mute to the " ſecond, in that he anſwered not as Law " would (whereupon he was to be convict- " ed of both the Indictments) ſo that none " Evidence (which was there ready) need- " ed either to be uſed, or by the *Queen's* " Council Learned to be opened or enfor- " ced: Nevertheleſs, for better ſatisfaction " of the World, it was by them thought " meet, ſomewhat to ſhew both how hai- " nous, and how evident (for Proof) his " Treaſons were. And albeit I am not able " (in any tolerable ſort) to repeat the grave, " wiſe, and pithy Diſcourſes that were made " in this behalf, by thoſe two worthy Gen- " tlemen, Maſter *Attorney-General*, and Ma- " ſter *Sollicitor* to her *Majeſty*; yet (I hope) " they will pardon me, to ſet down only " ſome few heads of their Speeches, as " they were noted briefly from their mouths, " and afterward brought unto me. Maſter *The Subſtance of Mr. Attorney's Speech.* " *Attorney* declared, That the Original of " theſe Plots and Conſpiracies came from, " and were for the Sectaries of this time: " That *Coppinger* in a Letter to *Udall*, pray- " eth him and the reſt in Priſon not to faint: " That he and others had taken a courſe for " their ſpeedy deliverance, and deſired par- " don for not coming to him, which he " ſaid might be dangerous, for that they

" ſhould

" ſhould be the ſooner ſuſpected; or to that " effect: That there were Letters diſperſed " in the ſtreets five or ſix days before the " Action: That there were found in *Wig-* " *ginton's* Chamber printed Pamphlets, which " ſhould be ſent to a great number of Wo- " men (whom I, quoth Maſter *Attorney*, " forbear to name) as is touched before: " That in other Letters was contained, " That the *Queen* ſhould command her " Counſellors to their Chambers, becauſe of " the ſtir and danger which then ſhould be: " That *Hacket* himſelf had afore confeſſed " (beſides the other Points of the Indict- " ments) how he ſent *Arthington* and *Cop-* " *pinger* to do and proclaim as they did.

" Then Maſter *Sollicitor* very excellently " alſo diſcourſed, How there was no Trea- " ſon more dangerous than that which is " practiſed under other colours, as it were " in the clouds, and none wounded ſo deep " as thoſe that were ſhadowed under the " cloak of Religion and Zeal; for of it " commonly followed greateſt deſtruction " and calamities. This he exemplified by " the *Anabaptiſts* at *Munſter* in *Weſtphalia*, " and ſome others: That in like ſort (as " (they did) this *Hacket* alſo affirmeth he " was ſent from God, was a principal *Angel* " ſent before the Judgment; that he doth " participate (with horror I rehearſe it, " ſaid Maſter *Sollicitor*) of the Human Na- " ture of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and the two other " are *Prophets*, one of *Mercy*, and the other

The Subſtance of Mr. Sollicitor's Speech.

" of

" of *Judgment*. That the *Queen* had forfeit-
" ed her Crown: That the Council was
" wicked, and muſt be over-ruled; and by
" whom but by him? &c. Then he ſhewed
" what *Hacket* was, *viz.* a Bankrupt; that
" he had married a Widow, and had
" ſpent all.

Mr. Recorder *gave Judgment for Execution.*

" Which done, Maſter *Recorder* of *Lon-*
" *don* gave Judgment upon *Hacket*, as in like
" caſes is accuſtomed. From thence *Hacket*
" was carried to *Newgate*, and there remain-
" ed till *Wedneſday* next after (being the ap-
" pointed day for his Execution) that in the
" mean while he might (by godly counſel)
" be brought to Repentance, and to pro-
" vide for his Soul's health. Certain Preach-
" ers ſo travelled with him in the mean
" time, that albeit (for ſome while) he
" thought to advantage himſelf, and to re-
" ſpite his execution, by giving (through
" diſſimulation) froward and lewd An-
" ſwers; yet at length they brought him
" (as it then ſeemed) to a ſerious conſide-
" ration of his own ſtate, and of the grie-
" vouſneſs of his Treaſons. Inſomuch as

He is viſited by Preachers, is brought to ſober Temper:

" Maſter *Richard Young* of *London*, coming
" alſo unto him thither, on the *Tueſday* being
" the 27th of *July*, betwixt the hours of
" ſix and ſeven in the Afternoon (ſundry
" others alſo being in company) he found
" him (in outward appearance) well af-
" fected. For when Maſter *Young* wiſhed
" him to ſubmit himſelf, and to confeſs his
" fault towards Almighty God, he preſently

" with

" with good words did it accordingly. Then " Maſter *Young* told him that God had ap- " pointed Death unto all men, but unto di- " vers in divers ſorts, and wiſhed him to take " patiently that which God had laid upon " him. This *Hacket* ſaid he would unfained- " ly do, and withal asked the *Queen's Ma-* " *jeſty* Forgiveneſs; ſaying, he was very ſor- " ry for the words he had ſpoken, and that " it was a gracious and happy turn, that " their Treaſons were in time revealed: For " otherwiſe it would have coſt a number of " innocent men their bloods, and himſelf " (he thought) ſhould nevertheleſs alſo have " been ſlain amongſt them: But now he " truſted in God that the others would con- " feſs alſo their Treaſons; and that her *Ma-* " *jeſty* was a gracious Prince, and would " forgive them if they asked mercy. And if " it would alſo pleaſe her Highneſs to be ſo " gracious unto him as to pardon him, he " would henceforth become a good Subject. " Furthermore (becauſe he had no Money) " he then deſired Maſter *Young* either to give " or to lend him ſome Money; ſaying he " would repay it again if ever he were able, " who thereupon did his devotion towards " him. Then *Hacket* thanked him, and de- " ſired Maſter *Young* to pray for him. Thus " he continued in good Temper that night " and the next morning, until (looking " out at one of the Windows into the Street " leading towards *Cheapſide*) he ſaw all the " ſtreet even filled (as it were) up with

Confeſſes the Fact, ſeems ſorry, and asks the Queen's Forgiveneſs.

" peo-

Seeing the Multitude waiting his Execution, he raves, and blaſphemes.

" people, expecting his Execution. There-
" upon he began to anſwer ſuch as exhort-
" ed him, very deſperately and blaſphe-
" mouſly: And when as coming down the
" Stairs one of the Sheriffs wiſhed him to be
" mindful of *Chriſt*'s Death, who ſuffered
" for him, he thereupon uttered moſt exe-
" crable Blaſphemy againſt *Chriſt*'s bleſſed
" Paſſion.

" He was brought from *Newgate* towards
" the place of Execution, the Eight and
" twentieth day of *July* (being *Wedneſday*)
" after Ten of the Clock in the Morning,
" albeit by reaſon of the incredible multi-
" tude (then in the ſtreets) but eſpecially in
" *Cheapſide*, from one end thereof unto ano-
" ther, (the like whereof at no aſſembly in
" memory hath been ſeen) it was very long
" ere the Officers (with all they could do)
" could get him to the very place. All the
" way that he was dragged upon the Hur-
" dle, he continued his counterfeit vein that
" he had then undertaken; one while cry-
His extravagant Speeches going to Execution.
" ing out *Jehovah Meſſias, Jehovah Meſſias*;
" another while crying out thus; Look,
" look, how the Heavens open wide, and
" the Son of God cometh down to deliver
" me. When he came under the Gibbet
" (which was reared hard by the Croſs in
" *Cheapſide*, towards the right hand of the
" Street as you come from *Paul*'s) and the
" noiſe being appeaſed, he was exhorted to
" ask God and the *Queen* Forgiveneſs, and
" to fall to his Prayers: But he perſevering

" in

" in his unprofitable courſe of diſſimulation,
" inſtead thereof, fell to railing and curſing
" of the *Queen's Majeſty*, moſt villanouſly. *He curſes the Queen.*
" But being more vehemently urged to re-
" member his preſent ſtate, and to give over
" all hope to do himſelf good by ſuch diſſem-
" bling, he began to pray this moſt paſſio-
" nate, blaſphemous, and execrable Prayer,
" viz. O *God of Heaven, mighty Jehovah,* *His blaſphe-*
" Alpha *and* Omega, *Lord of Lords, King* *mous execra-*
" *of Kings, and God everlaſting, that knoweſt* *ble Prayer.*
" *me to be that true Jehovah, whom thou haſt*
" *ſent: ſend ſome miracle out of a cloud to con-*
" *vert theſe Infidels, and deliver me from theſe*
" *mine enemies: If not, I will fire the hea-*
" *vens, and tear thee from thy throne with my*
" *hands.* With other words of moſt exe-
" crable blaſphemy againſt the divine Ma-
" jeſty of God (not to be rehearſed) by
" reaſon that he found not that deliverance
" which he fancied God to have promiſed.
" Then turning towards the *Executioner*, he
" ſaid unto him, *Ah thou baſtards child, wilt thou* *His words to*
" *hang* W^m. Hacket *thy king?* The *Magiſtrates* *the Hangman.*
" and people deteſting this ſubtil, ſeditious,
" and blaſphemous humour, commanded and
" cried to the Officers to diſpatch with him,
" or to have his mouth ſtopped from blaſ-
" pheming: but they had much ado to
" get him up the Ladder: And when he
" was up, he ſtruggled with his head to
" and fro, (as well as he could) that he
" might not have the fatal nooſe put over
" his head. Then he asked them (very
" fear-

" fearfully) *O what do you, what do you?*
" but ſeeing by the circumſtance, what
" they intended, he began to rave again,
He dies horridly blaſphemning. " and ſaid, *Have I this for my kingdom be-*
" *ſtowed upon thee? I come to revenge thee,*
" *and plague thee*; and ſo was turn'd off. But
" the people unwilling that ſo traitorous
" and blaſphemous a wretch, ſhould have
" any the leaſt favour: cried out mightily
" to have him cut down preſently, to be
" quartered, and ſeemed very angry with
" the Officers, that made no more haſte
" therein: but as ſoon almoſt as he was
" cut down, (even with a trice) his heart
" was taken forth, and ſhewed out openly
" to the people, for a moſt deteſtable, blaſ-
" phemous Traytor's heart.

" Thus died the moſt dangerous fire-
" brand of ſedition, moſt deteſtable Traytor,
" moſt hypocritical ſeducer, and moſt exe-
" crable blaſphemous hellhound, that ma-
" ny ages ever ſaw, or heard of, in this
" Land.

Coppinger *ſtarves himſelf and dies next day in* Bridewel. " The next day after this (being *Thurſ-*
" *day*,) *Coppinger* having wilfully abſtained
" from meat (as is ſaid) ſeven or eight days
" together, died in *Bridewell*: and *Arthing-*
" *ton* liveth yet in the *Counter* in *Woodſtreet*,
Arthington *in the* Counter *repents and ſues for Pardon.* " reſerved (I hope) unto ſincere and per-
" fect repentance. For immediately upon
" *Hacket*'s execution, he wrote a Letter
" unto two great *Counſellors*, (whom a-
" mong others he had lewdly ſlandered)
" of ſubmiſſion, and afterwards (more at
" large)

" large) he wrote to the body of the " Council, the whole courſe (as he preten- " deth) of this action, ſo far as he was " made acquainted therewith, humbly " craving their Lordſhips mediation unto " the *Queens moſt excellent Majeſty* for his " pardon, and acknowledging his dange- " rous error, and deviliſh ſeduction (by " *Hacket* eſpecially) into this traiterous " action.

This Declaration is truly taken forth of their own Letters, Writings under their hands, and their Confeſſions upon Examinations, ſubſcribed by themſelves, and by ſundry honourable and worſhipful perſons of great gravity, and wiſdom, before whom they were made: and therefore may ſuffice, to ſhew unto all reaſonable and well-affected, the lewdneſs and danger of the hypocritical Plots, and ſeditious Conſpiracies entred into by theſe perſons.

The ſtate ſlandered in theſe Proceedings.

But ſome there are ſo perverſely wedded to their own wills, and addicted to their fancies once conceived, that they give out they were mad, and furious perſons, chooſing therein, rather to accuſe the honourable *Juſtice* of the *Realm*, and all the adminiſters thereof, than that any of their factious Crew (profeſſing deſire of pretended Reformation, and to bring in *The Diſcipline* as they call it) ſhould be noted with ſo deep diſloyalty.

As it is not the part of any honeſt *Chriſtian*, by calumniation to charge thoſe that be innocent; ſo doth it not become a loyal Subject, to juſtifie any Traytors, eſpecially with ſlandering of the State. It therefore ſeemeth requiſite, that this point be not left uncleared: whether they or any of them, in theſe practices, were indeed tranſported with fury, beſides themſelves, ſo as they needed not to have been regarded, nor (by Law) ought to have ſuffered death for them?

The Juſtice vindicated.

In wants of underſtanding and reaſon (after ſuch time as men ſhould naturally have them) there are noted divers degrees, that are alſo of ſeveral conſideration; that is to ſay: *Furor ſive Rabies*: *Dementia ſive Amentia*: *Inſania ſive Phreneſis*: *Fatuitas*, *Stultitia*, *Lethargia*, & *Delirium*. And albeit the three firſt (by ſundry Writers) be ſometimes confounded and taken for one, like as alſo the fourth is with the fifth, and the ſixth with the laſt: yet when the diverſity eſpied in the things themſelves, do drive men to a more exact conſideration, and diſtinction of the words (by which thoſe paſſions are to be expreſſed) they are for the moſt part thus properly termed and diſtinguiſhed by the beſt Writers.

Tuſc. qu. li. 3. *Furor* (as it is deſcribed by *Tully*) *eſt mentis ad omnia cæcitas*: an entire and full blindneſs or darkening of the underſtanding of the mind, whereby a man knoweth not at all, what he doth or ſaith, and is engliſhed

engliſhed *madneſs* or *woodneſs*. He that is poſſeſſed herewith, is carried with fury of mind, into great violences, and outrages, ſo that he neither ſpareth himſelf, nor other men, and is called in Greek μαινόμενος. Such was the madneſs of *Ajax* (as is fained by the *Poets*) who whipped and ſcourged droves of beaſts and cattel, thinking they were the *Græcians* that had diſpleaſed him, and afterward in that rage killed himſelf. Bal. in L ſed & milites jam autem § ff. de excuſ. tuto: & paſſim alij.

Dementia is deſcribed there, by the ſame Author, to be *affectio animi lumine mentis carens*, A paſſion of the mind, bereaving it of the light of underſtanding: Or as another grave and learned Author calleth it, *ablatus rerum omnium intellectus*, when a man's perceivance and underſtanding of all things is taken away, and may be engliſhed *diſtracted of wit*, or being *beſide himſelf*. Such one is called alſo *Mente captus, cùm mens ei è poteſtate abiit*, in Greek ἀνόητος. This infirmity of the mind is leſs than furious rage, and to be diſtinguiſhed from it. They differ in this, that the firſt is, as it were carried with great outrage of mind, into violent courſes; but he that is only *mente captus*, uſeth greater quietneſs of body, and calmneſs, and ſheweth not ſuch outward teſtimonies in his actions, of alienation of his wits: yet neither of theſe have any ruled memory, will, underſtanding, or feeling, of that they do or ſay. Ibidem. Quintil. Declamat. 348. Feſtus. l 2. D. de inofficio. teſtamento. D. D. in 1. Inſtit. § de curat.

Tuſc. qu. li. 5. *Inſania* is alſo deſcribed by *Tully* (upon the judgment of the Authors of the 12. Tables) to be *inconſtantia ſanitate vacans, quæ tamen poſſit tueri officium vitæ communis, & cultum uſitatum*; A kind of Inconſtancy void in deed of perfect ſoundneſs of mind, yet ſuch, as that he which hath it can obſerve and do the common offices of this life among men, in ſome reaſonable and tollerable ſort: ſuch be all they, whom commonly we term either frantick, brainſick, crack'd-witted, cock-brains, or harebrained men, being not altogether unapt for civil ſocieties, or void of underſtanding, to perceive what they ſay or do, or what is ſaid unto them: albeit they have many ſtrange conceits, toying fancies, and perform ſundry, raſh, undiſcreet, mad, and fooliſh parts. Many examples of theſe three degrees, much differing one from another; may be obſerved in our daily experience, and in hiſtories of all ages.

Fatuitas is the want of wit and underſtanding, wherewith natural fools are poſſeſſed: But *Stultitia* is that folly which is ſeen in ſuch, as albeit they be but ſimple and groſs-witted, yet are not to be accounted very Idiots, or Naturals. Therefore one ſpeaking modeſtly of himſelf, ſaid thus: *Ego ſtultum me exiſtimo, fatuum eſſe non opinor.* I take my ſelf to be but a ſimple Man, yet (I hope) no ſtark Idiot.

Afranius.

A *Lethargy* is a notable forgetfulneſs of all things almoſt, that heretofore a man hath known, or of their names: ſo that ſuch one oftentimes forgetteth alſo his own name, calleth any thing by a wrong name; and beginning to ſpeak, forgetteth what he had ſaid afore, and what he meant to ſay after This diſtemperature and weakneſs cometh by ſome blow, ſickneſs, or age.

Delirium is that weakneſs of conceit and conſideration, which we call dotage: when a man, through age or infirmity, falleth to be a child again in diſcretion: albeit he underſtand what is ſaid, and can happily ſpeak ſomewhat pertinently unto ſundry matters.

If a man, whiles he is troubled with either of the firſt two infirmities, ſhall commit any thing, which in his own nature is criminal, all good laws do rather pity his caſe, than puniſh him, albeit, in the reſt it be not abſolutely ſo obſerved: for *voluntas non actus, affectus non effectus diſtinguunt maleficia*: we are not in puniſhing offenders, ſo much to reſpect the event, and what is done, as with what purpoſe, mind, and affection the thing is done. But ſuch as be furious, and diſtracted of their wits, are intended (whiles that paſſion laſteth) to have no will, to know or perceive nothing, and therefore not to give conſent to any thing they do or ſay. In which reſpects they are compared in law, to men abſent, and utterly ignorant of any thing done by themſelves, on in their preſence.

l. 17. filio. D. § de in jurijs L. 7. finali. D. § de jure dicillorū

Now then, to examine theſe three perſons by that which hath been ſaid: It may be yielded, that their imaginations, purpoſes, plots, and deſignments, reſpecting the weightineſs of the end and weakneſs of the means, were fantaſtical, unadviſed, and moſt fond and unlikely, yet none otherwiſe than may be alſo truly ſaid for the moſt part of all ſuch fanatical fantaſticks, ſchiſmaticks, hereticks, or malecontented treaſonable conſpirators whatſoever. But cannot (truly or with any colour of probability) be affirmed, that any of them were mad, beſides themſelves, and out of their wits, as not knowing and perceiving what they did or ſaid, or what others ſaid or did unto them.

Firſt concerning *Arthington*, I have not heard ſo much as any doubt at all of Madneſs to have been made by any man that converſed, or had to deal with him, either in or after this action. But becauſe *Copinger* hath been ſuppoſed by many (after the time of his firſt examination) to have fallen into ſtark madneſs, let us a little look back, and briefly recapitulate ſome points, that have been afore touched concerning him, to ſee, if any ſuch diſtraction of mind could alſo be noted in him, by the carriage of this action, before his apprehenſion. Yet I do know, that it hath been doubted (upon ſome good grounds) by wiſe men, whether he were indeed mad, even at any time after he was apprehended, as he made ſhew, or whether

whether it were only fained by him. For a mad man may, and often times doth, for two or three days together, eat no meat, nor happely drinks not at all. But when the humours of his ſtomach are fully concocted and put over, ſo that for want of food, it beginneth naturally to ſuck back the blood and nourishment, diſtributed afore into the veins and parts, which breedeth hunger: then will a madman (moſt commonly) very greedily and ravenouſly, even by courſe of nature, fall to his meat, if it be ſhewed him, and cannot abſtain, becauſe he cannot diſſemble this appetite, in the time of his fury. But *Coppinger* is ſaid to have forborn and abſtained from meat and drink (though they were offered unto him) by the ſpace of eight whole days: whereby he grew ſo weak, as that it may ſeem, he died for want of Suſtenance. Such reſolution or obduration of mind, can hardly ſo long together remain with him, that is mad indeed, and knoweth not what he doth. Howſoever it were after, it is ſure, that before their Pageant was plaid, (wherein matters proſpered not as they expected) the whole courſe of his ſpeeches, writings, and other dealings were ſuch, as do argue no defect at all of reaſon, memory, wit, or underſtanding, ſetting aſide the abſurdity and folly of the fancy, wherewith he was led.

For when he firſt had taken apprehenſion of ſuch *extraordinary* calling, he yielded not ſtraightway and unadviſedly unto it, but after long and deliberate debating with himſelf: his care was great, and courſe (as in ſuch a matter) was conſiderate, in ſeeking to be reſolved by ſuch, as he both then, and afore held, to be beſt able to judge of his gifts and calling: The queſtions that he framed were very pertinent to that purpoſe, and orderly penned: His Letters and ſpeeches to *T. C.* to *Eg.* to *Cb.* to *Vd.* to *Lan.* to *Wig.* to *P. W.* to *I. T.* and others, and to them of forreign Churches, were (for that matter) well and adviſedly endited: His cunning was not ſmall, to keep the very particular way of effecting that which he deſired, from thoſe he dealt with, becauſe himſelf knew it a dangerous ſecret, and a courſe not juſtifiable, unleſs it came by *extraordinary* motion, and ſpecial œconomy from God, and therefore he deſired to have it allowed ſo to be: His pretence of entertaining intelligence (touching ſome important ſervice to the State of the Realm, whereof he pretended to have an inkling, but no full and particular knowledg) was none unadviſed or ſimple reach of policy, in him. For if in platting of his purpoſes, and dealing in the principal action, any thing of doubtful acceptance, ſhould happen to have been after diſcovered, then might he well and with good colour, have pretended, that he did it but in way of attaining to intelligence of thoſe dangers, whereof

whereof the generality (as it were in the Clouds) he had afore delivered to a *Counſellor*. For he might not ſeem a man to be ſuſpected of any diſloyal purpoſe, who ſhewed himſelf ſo careful for his Sovereign's ſafety. Add to theſe, his cunning petition, to have priſoners for treaſon, *&c.* to be examined by himſelf, and execution of condemn'd perſons to be ſtai'd at his beck, whereby he might more eaſily have induced them to appeach, whom he liſt to have overthrown, and whom he principally aimed at. His ſubtilty alſo doth notably appear in his petitions to her *Majeſty*; where he makes ſhew of great ſecrets to be delivered only in her preſence, and prayeth to be pardoned, if in overmuch fear of her ſafety, he had attempted to prove that, which he could not, which argueth, that he had (indeed) not ſo much as any colourable intelligence delivered unto him, of Treaſon intended, by ſuch great men, as he pretended: but uſed this as a means, to have acceſs, for himſelf and the others, unto her Highneſs's preſence, for ſome further intended miſchief: Then his allowance and commendation of ſound and good counſel given him, by *Eg.* a preacher, and by others; his ſparing to reveal the great and dangerous ſecret unto *Hacket*, upon their firſt acquaintance; his razing out of *Hacket's* and the Town's Name, out of the Letter ſent by him to a Noble perſonage, to give inkling of Treaſons intended againſt her *Majeſty*, leſt the quality and unlikelyhood

hood of the man being enquired after, that that plot ſhould be daſhed; his not ſubſcribing of his name to ſundry Letters; his directing of *Hacket*, neither to ſubſcribe nor endorſe (but in that ſort as he preſcribed) for fear of diſcovery; his deſire to have all the Letters again, that he had written to *Eg.* about that matter; his wary and diligent keeping of copies of every Letter that he writ in that cauſe; and when leaſure ſerved not ſo to do, his great care to have the very Letters again; his offence with one *Hoc.* for keeping a Letter from him, which he had ſent unto him; his cunning excuſe of *Hacket's* defacing of the *Queen's* Arms; his counterfeit revelation to bring *Arthington* further in; his device to make *Arthington* reſolute, by ſaying it was revealed to him, that they had *Angelical* ſpirits, not ſubject to hurt, by any mortal power; his willing choice to withdraw himſelf into an houſe, when (after their proclamation) things fell not out as was expected, and from thence afterward to go to his place of abode, through by-lanes; his and *Hacket's* putting off the matter from knowledg of *Arthington* for a time, though afterward (happely) to be opened, why the *Queen* might not be pray'd for, in particular; their pretence of the Lords commandment, to keep the means ſecret; how the *Queen's Majeſty* and the *Counſel* were to be brought to repentance, and unto their pretended Reformation; the ſenſible and coherent manner of report unto

Wiggin-

Wigginton, touching *Hacket's* and their own callings, and offices, by *Coppinger* and *Arthington*; their temperate and pertinent answers unto *Wigginton's* ſpeeches, and all their conſulting ſundry times together, about their buſineſs, namely, the night afore, and the day of their proclamation, do plainly argue, that *Coppinger* (albeit he were greatly miſled by a falſe and ſpightful zeal, and by much hypocriſie) yet was he far enough from any diſtracting of his wits, in every part of this action.

And concerning *Hacket* (whoſe terrible blaſphemies at the laſt, do argue either a villanous diſſimulation to have his execution reſpited, or a deſperate intemperancy againſt God, for fruſtrating his expectation,) there can no fury or madneſs be juſtly noted in him, by the whole managing of this action, but rather, notable hypocricy, craft, and diſſembled holineſs. Firſt, in that he ſeem'd a man moſt zealous for the pretended *Reformation* of the Church, by erecting *the Diſcipline*, and afterwards alſo for reforming of the Common-wealth: That he uſed (in outward appearance) a moſt fervent and devout manner of praying; that in his prayers, he did execrate himſelf moſt deeply, if he ſought not the glory of God only in this action, thereby the better to be credited, and to cover his villanies; that he took 4 day's deliberation, to anſwer the great matter, after it was firſt propounded by *Coppinger*: that he ſought to get credit to himſelf,

himſelf, and to terrify her *Majeſty*, by telling (in generalities) of ſtrange judgments of God, imminent over her, that were revealed unto him: that foreſeeing it not unlikely to rain (after a long time of drought) he prayed in *Coppinger's* preſence for rain, whereby it might ſeem to be ſent by God, at his only prayer and mediation: that he bare them in hand he could tell things to come, being merely contingent: that he could fain ſuch kind of *Revelations*, as if they were ſhewed to him in the midſt of his torments, (which if they be marked) tended only to have himſelf magnified, as a man placed moſt highly in God's favour: that when the one of his followers ſeemed offended, he craftely excuſed the miſlike which he had ſhewed, to hear her *Majeſty* prayed for: that the better to colour his hatred and malice, he afterwards prayed for her himſelf: that he cunningly induced *Coppinger*, either to fain or to fancy a Revelation, that he, and *Arthington* muſt obey him the ſaid *Hacket* in all things: that he pretended to diſpence with *Arthington*, for honouring him as King of *Europe*, until he ſhould do it before others, where it might ſtand him in better ſted: that he craftily put off his intended anointing by *Coppinger*, (as being already done in heaven) leſt ſome (unlooked for) accident happely falling forth, the whole pageant might have been marr'd: that his pretended greateſt office of ſevering (in Chriſt's behalf) the good from the bad, with his

Fan

Fan in his hand, was concealed from *Arthington*, until the very time that the meſſage was to be done by them, when as it was too late to conſider of it, and unlawful to be diſobeied: that this office he proclamed unto them (after his two ſolemn prayers, for direction of them by God's ſpirit, to the glory of God only) as it were an oracle newly dropped down from heaven: that he aſwered *Wigginton's* queſtions very cunningly, as touching the old Magiſtrates that were gone, and the new come in place, meaning thereby (in truth) the diſplacing of all her *Majeſty's Councel*: that he warily qualified *Coppinger's* and *Arthington's* ſpeeches, which ſeem'd unto *Wigginton*, to attribute a little too much unto him: that (coming through the ſtreets, and ſeeing their proclamation had not made ſuch ſturr, as was hoped) he then pretended unto *Wigginton* that he had not ſet them on work, but marvelled what they meant thereby, and thereupon ſignified, he would depart the city, and be gone home: that fearing what might happen in the event of the tumult he ſent them into the ſtreets, but tarried behind in the Houſe himſelf: That he put the trial of his ſaid pretended great Office (which he claimed in *Chriſt's* room) upon this iſſue and trial, That none of the People which ſhould come to ſee him, had the power to kill him; for he knew that no private Subject might or would attempt to do it, howſoever otherwiſe they took the matter. That

after

after the matter fell not out to his purpoſe, and being returned to *Walker*'s Houſe, he rebuked *Arthington*'s over-much forwardneſs, for calling him there (openly before others) the *King of the Earth*, and excuſed this in him, by his great Zeal. That he ſlily avoided the queſtions which the Miniſter of that Pariſh did ask him, touching thoſe things which *Arthington* attributed unto him. That he uſed at his Examinations many crafty Evaſions, when any queſtion of capital danger to him was asked. That he conſtantly at all his Examinations perſiſted in denying, and ſaid he did not remember that Action which ſeemed moſt odiouſly Traiterous, touching the piercing that part of the Picture which repreſented her *Majeſty*'s Royal Heart. That he denied alſo to have ſent them to publiſh as they did. That he did anſwer ſo doggedly and (in truth) knaviſhly, to the queſtion of defacing the Lion and Dragon in her *Majeſty*'s Arms. That to a queſtion (of moſt importance) whether her *Majeſty* were lawful *Queen of England*? he refuſed to anſwer. That he ſubtilly anſwered (albeit not to the Lawfulneſs of her being *Queen*) yet ſhe was (in fact) *Queen* as yet, *if ſhe had not forfeited it*. That when he was tortured, he revoked his Treaſons, and ſorrowfully ſubmitted himſelf; a courſe which by the extremity of Pain (at the firſt aſſaying of it) doth drive a man (being indeed mad) into a far greater rage and impatience than he was afore. That till he

was

was tortured, he would not appeach any other his Complices in the Treaſons. That being not willing to plead directly to his ſecond Indictment, he drave off the time with cunning Anſwers, indeed importing nothing leſs than madneſs. That being in good Temper, and (as ſeemed) well diſpoſed in mind both the Night before, and the *Wedneſday* morning, until he ſaw no remedy, but that he was preſently to be executed, he burſt not forth into his horrible Blaſphemies. And that at the very Execution, in his greateſt impatience pretended, (albeit his Speeches were moſt villanous againſt the Queen, and blaſphemous towards God) yet he underſtood what was ſaid and done; his Words had Senſe, and his Prayer was coherent together, one part with another. None of all which things premiſed, can happen or be found in him that is indeed furious and diſtracted of his Wits; ſuch as the Laws not only do pity, but alſo ſpare and protect from all Puniſhment.

If any man now ſhall marvel how ſuch vain and fooliſh Conceits could ſo deeply poſſeſs men of any conſideration, let him remember what *Luther* writ againſt certain like Phanatical Perſons, the *Anabaptiſts* in *Germany*; who pretended like Purity, and intended alſo a dangerous Reformation: *There is* (ſaith he) *none Error ſo abſurd, but* (*when God's Wrath is once kindled*) *the Devil is able to perſuade it.*

But

But if offence be taken by any againſt the Goſpel it ſelf, for that theſe Weeds have ſprung up in the Times, and amongſt thoſe Perſons that make outward Profeſſion of it, let that be called to mind which I ſaid in the beginning of this Treatiſe, and the Compariſon and Reſemblance now enſuing be conſidered, with theſe mens Purpoſes, Opinions, and Actions, which there I promiſed to make, betwixt them and certain Hereſies and Tumults ſtirred up in *Germany*, at the very beginning of the renewing of the Light of the Goſpel by the preaching of *Luther*, *Zuinglius*, and others; the brief of which Story is thus; *viz.*

t reſemblance twixt theſe en and the abaptiſts in rmany in ther's time.

idan lib. 4. 6.

t Story.

About ſix or ſeven Years after *Luther* began to preach the Goſpel, the Devil (to diſturb this work) ſtirred up certain hot-brain'd, unconſiderate, and importune Preachers, that miſliked not only the Doctrine of the *Pope*, but the Doctrine of *Luther* alſo, as not being ſo ſpiritual, nor ſerving ſo fitly for planting of Purity, as they thought requiſite. By whoſe continual Clamour, and ſharp Invectives againſt the Enormities of the *Eccleſiaſtical* State, the *Nobility* and *Magiſtrates*, ſuch Effect was wrought, as that (in ſhort time) there was kindled a moſt fearful War of above one hundred thouſand of the common and uplandiſh People, riſing and taking up Arms, almoſt about one time, in ſeveral parts of *Germany*, where they ſacked Towns, killed certain of the *Nobility*, and did

A hundred thouſand riſe in Arms.

did many other Outrages. For ſuch Preachers having ſet them on fire, did ſo harden them alſo, as that they could not be wholly vanquiſhed, until (what in one place and in other of that Country) Fifty thouſand of them were killed and cut in pieces, by the united Forces of the moſt of the *Princes* of the *Empire*. The manner of theſe Peaſants linking themſelves together, was in ſecret Conventicles by Night, and Aſſemblies in private Houſes, where they gave mutual Faith and Oath each of them to ſtick to other. Their purpoſes and counſels were how to overthrow the State *Eccleſiaſtical*, the *Magiſtrates* and *Councils* of Eſtate in every ſeveral Province. When they were up in Arms, they made the Pretences of their Actions to be the defending, erecting, and upholding of the preaching of the Goſpel through every place. Being once aſſembled in great Troops, they then ſet forth and publiſhed certain Points, which they required the *Princes* and *Magiſtrates* to perform and yield unto them; whereof theſe following were ſome, amongſt ſundry other Grievances which they pretended were offered unto them by *Princes*, *Noblemen*, *Magiſtrates*, and Gentlemen, and whereof they urged a Reformation; *viz.* One Petition of thoſe Uplandiſh Rebels was this; *That they and other the common people, themſelves might every where have the free choice of ſincere Miniſters.* Another, *That Mortuaries might wholly be taken away.* A Third, *That they might be diſ-*

Fifty thouſand of them ſlain by the Forces of the Empire.

They link themſelves together by mutual ſecret Conventicles, and plight their Faith to each other by Oath.

Their purpoſes to overthrow the State Eccleſiaſtical and Civil.

Their pretences the upholding the Goſpel.

Their Grievances they urge to be reformed.

1.

2.

3.

4. *burdened of paying any Tithes to Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, but only Corn.* And a Fourth, *That they might alſo preſcribe how theſe Tithes ſhould be better employed.* *Luther* in an Anſwer that he made to that Book of theirs, ſaith, he conceived that this Sedition was a very Stratagem of *Satan*; to the intent that the Devil might deſtroy and kill him, and other true and ſound Preachers of the Goſpel, by men making outward ſhew and profeſſion of the ſame Religion, becauſe he ſaw he could not effect it, nor ſo far prevail by open Adverſaries, ſuch as the *Pope* was and his Adherents. For theſe Rebels called themſelves a *Chriſtian Congregation*, and bragged much that they would (in all their actions) follow the preciſe Rule of God's Word. And whereas (under the pretence of deteſtation of ſin, and of their own great ſincerity and good lives) theſe Traiterous Rebels noted many Faults in all other ſorts and ſtates of men, and proteſted alſo great Loyalty and Fidelity to the Perſons of their *Princes*, ſo they might but have things amiſs reformed; he freely and truly putteth them in mind, That whiles they pried thus narrowly into other mens faults, the Devil had ſo blinded them (through Pride and Hypocriſy) that they could not ſee their own deteſtable Treaſons, with other their Sins and Impieties: Adding alſo, That ſuch as wreſt away or abate Princes Swords and Juriſdictions, will (upon any fit opportunity offered) no doubt take away their Lives alſo; which

Luther calls this Sedition a Stratagem of Satan.

They call themſelves a Chriſtian Congregation, and pretend to follow the preciſe Rule of God's Word.

Luther minds them of their Pride and Hypocriſy.

which is chiefly maintained by their Sovereign Jurisdiction; and by Power of the Sword.

Amongst others, *Carolastadius* a Preacher, professing the Gospel, but fallen into discontentments and emulous oppositions against *Luther*, gave no small advancement to this fearful Commotion. This man attributed much to Cabinet Teachers in private Conventicles, and unto Visions, and pretended Conferences with God. But of all other Preachers that pretended Enmity both to the *Pope* and unto *Luther*, one *Thomas Muncer* was the hotteſt and chiefeſt *Boutifeu* and Bellows of this Sedition. At firſt he urged and exhorted men (in his teaching by a good ſpace together) and that with great vehemency, unto a ſingular, ſtrait, preciſe, and holy courſe of life; namely, to fly all, even the leaſt ſhew of actual ſin; to faſt much, to array themſelves with mean and baſe Rayment, to retain a ſettled Auſterity in Countenance, to ſpeak ſeldom, and ſuch like; which he called the bearing of the Croſs, Mortification, and *Diſcipline*. Now when as hereby he had procured unto himſelf a great Opinion of Holineſs, and Reputation with the common People, he proceeded further unto ſtrange and very dangerous Opinions: For then he began to teach men, in their Prayers to ask a Sign of God, Whether they held the Truth in Religion, or not? That if he gave not a Sign, they might importune him, and expoſtulate with him, that

Carolaſtadius one of their Encouragers.

Muncer the hotteſt and chiefeſt Leader. He exhorts them to great ſtrictneſs of Life.

He broacheth dangerous Opinions. Teacheth men to pray for Signs, and expect Viſions from God.

he dealt not well with them in not giving a Sign to them who (in this ſort) begged but true knowledge of him; ſaying, that to ſhew ſuch Anger in Prayer, was acceptable unto God, for that hereby men did ſhew their fervency in Zeal. He taught alſo, that God (even in theſe days) did reveal his Will by Dreams and Viſions: That all Judgments civil muſt be by the *Bible*, or Revelation from God: That all in dignity muſt be equal. He railed againſt *Princes*, and imputed many faults unto them, and namely this, That they ſuffered the *Eccleſiaſtical* State with great Impiety. This Opinion of Equality of Authority and Dignity, made the common people fall from their Work, and beginning to gad idly up and down, they took away (by violence) ſuch things as they had need of, from thoſe that were more wealthy.

Rails at Princes.

Muncer (in this ſort) winning many unto him, they entred from time to time into ſecret Leagues together, upon mutual Oaths given, to help to root out and kill all wicked Magiſtrates, to the intent new that were more godly, might be ſet in their places; for ſo (he ſaid) God had given in commandment unto him. According to which Plots (by a Tumult of the People) at *Mulhuſin*, he procured the old *Officer* to be depoſed, and a new *Magiſtrate* to be ſet up in his place, and himſelf to be choſen a *Senator* of that City, albeit he was ſtill a Preacher, and ſeemed to miſlike this courſe in other men

They enter into Leagues to root out wicked Magiſtrates.

men. Now when as by theſe and other like means, great multitudes of men, to the number of Forty thouſand had taken up Arms, throughout *Franconia* and *Suevia*, then he thought opportunity ſerved him to ſet forward his purpoſes, by adjoyning himſelf unto them: and in this action one *Phyfer*, a near Companion of his, and like affected to him, did alſo Joyn. But when the Rebellious Rout wanted Victuals, and many other Neceſſaries, whereby their courages began to Fail; then he comforted them in his Sermons, and aſſured them (as from God) that their Cauſe and Quarrel was ſo good, that the Frame of the whole World ſhould ſooner be changed, than they ſhould be forſaken, or left deſtitute of him. And when the *Prince*'s Army (gathered to ſubdud them, being greater and better furniſhed than theirs were,) was ready to joyn in battel; he ſtill moſt reſolutely aſſured them, of ſome evident miraculous help, to be manifeſt from Heaven, for the overthrow of their Enemies; ſaying, that God would ſo enfeeble all their Enemies Shot, that *Muncer* himſelf would receive them all (without harm) into the Lap of his Coat, before they ſhould Light. For a token hereof, it happened that they had taken the Sign of a Rain-Bow for their Enſign. He ſhewed them (as it fell out the ſelf ſame time) a true Rain-Bow in Heaven, as an undoubted ſign, that they ſhould obtain the Victory. Whereupon they courageouſly at firſt ſet forward,

Forty thouſand arm in Franconia *and* Suevia. *One* Phyfer *joins them.*

A Rainbow is their Enſign, a token of Victory.

They are routed. Muncer *flies, is taken; he juſtifies the Fact.*

ſinging a Song for aid by the Holy Ghoſt: But being nevertheleſs all put in Rout and diſcomfited, *Muncer* fled away, and diſguiſed himſelf. Yet by means of certain Letters that were found with him, he was afterward in a Houſe diſcovered, and taken. Being brought before the *Magiſtrates*, he ſtoutly defended his fact, affirming, that *Princes*, who refuſed to eſtabliſh the purity of the Goſpel, were in that ſort to be bridled. When he was brought to the place of Execution, and ſaw no hope of Eſcape (which before he hoped for) he grew to be very much dejected, and perplexed in Mind, inſomuch as without help of a Godly *Prince*, which then ſtood by, he could not repeat ſo much as the Articles of his *Chriſtian* faith.

At his Execution is dejected and perplexed.

The Story applied to our Diſciplinarians, *and the Parallel alike in all particulars.*

I ſhall not need to dwell long in the application and reſemblance of theſe points unto this late Tragedy; the very reading of them over giving ſufficient Light unto the ſame. For the ſharp and angry Zeal of ſome unadviſed Preachers, which pretend neither to like of the *Pope*, nor of the preſent ſtate of the Church, for want of ſome purity, as they fanſy, Hath it not incenſed, and made to boil over, not only the foul Mouths of *Martiniſts*, but alſo the traiterous actions of theſe Conſpirators? And albeit the common multitude (whom the *Diſciplinarians* brag to be already inflamed with Zeal, ready to lend a hundred thouſand hands for the advancement of their Cauſe, and by whom they hope and ſay ſuch Reformation muſt at laſt be brought

in)

in) did better keep themſelves out of this Action than was expected; Yet the danger thereof was as great, and if it had once taken head, would (happily) as hardly as the other have been ſubdued. Were not the Treaties of theſe men alſo in private Houſes at Night-Faſts, and the Conſultations concerning it, at Claſſical Conventicles, and like Aſſemblies? Did not theſe likewiſe ſhoot at the Overthrow of the whole State Eccleſiaſtical, and at the diſplacing of her Majeſty's moſt Honourable Council, and that under pretence of Reformation, and to advance the preaching of the Goſpel in every Congregation throughout this Land? Made not theſe the like Complaints of wicked *Counſellors*, *Noblemen*, and *Magiſtrates*, for keeping out the *Diſcipline*, for perſecuting ſincere Preachers, and afflicting God's People, like Lyons and Dragons? And do they not pretend this to be a ſpecial Grievance of theirs, That the common people of every Congregation may not elect their own Miniſters? That the People are brought under the Yoak of the Law Ceremonial, by paying Tythes, *&c.* and is not the hand and head of *Satan* as plainly in this Action, to ſeek the overthrow of ſound Profeſſors, by others of the ſame Profeſſion, under pretence of greater Sincerity? Do not theſe likewiſe almoſt appropriate to themſelves and their Favourites, the Terms of *God's Church*, of *Chriſtian Brethren*, and of *true and reformed Preachers*? Is any Speech more rife

in their mouths, than that they will only be tried and judged by God's Book, and by his Spirit? Do they not tax all other men (not ſo far gone as themſelves) of looſe Lives, of Antichriſtianiſm, of Hypocriſy, and Idolatry; in the mean time never looking at their own Treaſons, Diſloyalties, and other Vices? Make they not great Oſtentation of Love and Fidelity to her Majeſty's Perſon, and of Care of her Safety, even when they ſecretly nouriſhed a fancy of Forfeiture of her Crown, and ſought to overrule her by *Hacket* their imagined Sovereign King of *Europe*? Had they not their Cabinet Preachers, their Table-end Teachers, their Guides of Faſts, *&c.* that teach, pray for, and attend *extraordinary* Callings by Viſions, Dreams, Revelations, and *Enlightnings*? Was not *Giles Wigginton* and ſome others unto them, as *Thomas Muncer*, and *Phifer* were to the *Germans*, men of ſuppoſed great Auſterity of Life, Holineſs, Favour with God, Reſoluteneſs in his Cauſe, Singleneſs, and Uprightneſs of heart? Did not *Wigginton* reſolve them, by Examples he gathered touching *Extraordinary* Callings in theſe days, by reaſon of the great Waſte of this Church of *England*? Had not he and they likewiſe learned of the ſame Devil (in the Prayers at Faſts) to ask Signs and Seals of God, for their extraordinary Callings? Doth not *Arthington* ſay, that he importuned God in his Prayers? And *Coppinger*, That he had leave given to talk more fami-

familiarly with God than afore? Did not *Hacket* in praying for the pretended poſſeſſed Gentlewoman, ſawcily expoſtulate with God, and charge him with his Promiſe, as if he dealt not well with him? Did he not at his Arraignment and Execution ſhew ſuch Anger in his Prayers againſt God, thinking belike, as thoſe did, to be excuſed by his Fervency of Zeal? Did not both he and *Coppinger* pretend Conference with God by ſundry Revelations and Dreams? Do not they and the reſt of the *Diſciplinarian* Humour, exact and ſeek to ſquare out, even in *Hypotheſi*, all Civil Policies and Judgments (in Cauſes Criminal eſpecially) unto the Judicials of *Moſes*, given for the People of the *Jews*? Is there any thing they ſtand more upon, or condemn the contrary deeper, than to have an Equality among all Perſons Eccleſiaſtical? Do they not inveigh ſharply againſt Prince and Nobles, for upholding the State Eccleſiaſtical; and in this reſpect intended to have them brought to Repentance, when their Opinions grew to a Ripeneſs? Was not this their principal pretended purpoſe, to plant the Goſpel and their Reformation by rooting out wicked *Magiſtrates*, and *Counſellors* (as they judged) and by ſetting others in their places? Did *Hacket*'s fancied Fan, inſtead of Chriſt, to ſever the good from the bad, import any thing elſe, or ſhould it have ſerved any other turn, than for the killing up of all that thought not well of their *Diſcipline* and *Reformation*? Fenner. theol.

formation? Did they not pretend the Will of the Lord ſo to be? And was it not plainly meant, this to be effected by tumult of the common people? Did not theſe likewiſe bear one another in hand, that all things ſhould ſucceed and proſper with them? that no violence could harm them, nor any man had power to hurt them, as having *Angelical* Spirits, and being in moſt high favour with God? And *Hacket* accordingly (even in going to execution) did he not call for and expect a miraculous deliverance from heaven, out of the hands of thoſe, whom he called his enemies? Did he not likewiſe (for a certain ſign of his favour with God) make *Coppinger* believe, that he could and did obtain rain, and could ſtay it at his pleaſure? Was not the chiefeſt of their plots and conſpiracies detected by their letters found with them? Did not they likewiſe when they were convented before the Magiſtrate, ſtoutly and reſolutely defend their dealings, and maintain, that the *Princeſs* had forfeited her right, and was now to be bridled and over-ruled by others? and laſtly: Was not that impious Wrech *Hacket* as irreſolute, dejected, and baſe-minded towards his death, as *Muncer*, or any man either could be, or as ſo bad a cauſe might procure?

Another like Commotion of the Anabaptiſt's in Munſter.

Not long after thoſe former Rebellions in *Germany*, another ſtrange and memorable Commotion happened in *Munſter*, the principal City of *Weſtphalia*, a Province alſo of *Germany*:

Germany; which is not unmeet to be (in ſome points) alſo touched in this place, for the near reſemblance that it hath unto this late action.

After the ſuppreſſion of this former Rebellion, and about the year of the Lord 1527. *Anabaptiſtrie* began mightly to ſpread it ſelf in ſundry parts of *Germany*, even as Cockle and Darnel doth (by the ſowing of the envious man the Devil) among good wheat. It happened that in the year 1532. one *Bernard Rotman* firſt, and afterwards five others (ſent to aſſiſt him from the *Lantzgrave* of *Heſs*) began to preach the Goſpel truly, in and about the ſaid City of *Munſter*. In the year 1533. one *John* ſurnamed of *Leyden* a Town in *Holland* (having none other known ſurname, by reaſon of his Ignobility, being but a Cobler, or a Currier by his occupation) came unto the City of *Munſter*. This Cobler was an egregious *Anabaptiſt*; under pretence of profeſſing the Goſpel, and of an hatred he had of *Popery*, he inſinuated himſelf into the acquaintance of the Preachers of the City of *Munſter*: But when it happened once that in anſwer to a queſtion of his (in that behalf made) they told him, that young Infants ought to be haptized, he laughed at them, as it were in ſcorn and of pity of their ignorance. Not long after this, one *Herman Staprede*, a preacher came alſo thither; but he preached openly againſt the baptiſm of young children. By theſe means (but eſpecially by their ſecret

Sleydan lib. 6.

The Firſt Preacher againſt them was Bernard Rotman, 1532.

Id. lib. 10.

John *of* Leyden *a* Cobler. *ariſeth*, 1533.

Herman Staprede.

ſecret Aſſemblies and Conventicles by night, this hereſie of Anabaptiſm ſpread it ſelf largely throughout that City, ſo that great ſpeech was made in every place thereof; albeit no certain knowledge was had, becauſe they admitted none other to their cloſe aſſemblies but ſuch, as ſtood alike perſwaded. This their courſe being come to the Magiſtrates ears, all that favoured that opinion, and had aſſembled themſelves in any ſuch dangerous Conventicles, were (by a general Edict) baniſhed the City: but as they went out at one gate, ſo (being confident upon their multitudes) they returned in at another, pretending that they were commanded by God to ſtay there, and to deal more earneſtly and reſolutely in their buſineſs. It happened, that *Rotman* (who before had preach'd againſt them) began at that time, to ſhew himſelf to be a favourer of their opinions; which thing gave alſo great incouragement unto them, inſomuch as they then challenged the ſound Preachers (which ſtood againſt them) unto diſputation. But when this challenge was accepted, ſo that learned and grave Judges and aſſiſtants might be choſen, and that whatſoever ſhould be determined, might firmly be ſtood unto, and obſerved of all without further contradiction; then they ſhrunk back, and refuſed diſputation upon any ſuch conditions. Hereupon they began to be leſs eſteem'd with the people, than they were afore; therefore to recover their former reputation with them, they

By the Magiſtrates they are Baniſhed the City, but return again.

Rotman *becomes a favourer of them.*

they deviſed another more ſhort and plauſable courſe, which was this. About the end of *December*, one of them pretending to be divinely inſpired, and to be raviſhed in ſpirit, did go through the ſtreets of the City, crying, *Repent, Repent, and be again baptized, or elſe the judgments and wrath of God will quickly and ſuddenly overwhelm you.* By this occaſion, many of them which afore did lurk ſecretly in corners, and kept themſelves cloſe, came ſuddenly abroad, and in great routs and plumps ran together (with the former cry) into the chief ſtreet of the City, being the Market Place, making great outcry's, that all which were not *rebaptized* in token of repentance, ſhould be ſlain as heathens, and as ungodly men. After this, (with ſundry great outrages done by them againſt many of the Citizens) they inveſted themſelves of the *Guild-Hall* or Town-houſe, and of all the Artillery and Munition of the City; ſo that many perſons, what upon credulous ſimplicity, and what for ſaving their goods and lives, were content to be *rebaptized* with them. Nevertheleſs, others (for ſafeguard of their goods and themſelves in this perilous uprore) betook themſelves to a place in the Town, very ſtrong by natural ſituation, and apprehended many of the ſeditious *Anabaptiſts* for priſoners. Theſe skirmiſhes laſted betwixt both the parties, until they grew to a parly and compoſition, giving Hoſtages each to other, for obſervance of it. And albeit the ſaid *Rotman*, and

One of them pretends to Inſpiration. 1533.

They declare all that are not Rebaptized to be ſlain as Heathens.

Seize the Town-Houſe and Arms of the City.

Are oppoſed, and ſome apprehended.

Rotman and Knipperdoling agree to a Compoſition, but privily promote the Faction.

and one *Bernarde Knipperdoling* (being chief in the Faction) had alſo allowed of ſuch compoſition; yet by their ſundry Letters, privily and under-hand ſent unto others of their Faction and Sect in Places and Cities abroad, they treacherouſly (from time to time) invited very many, (though it were with loſs of their Goods abroad) to retire themſelves to dwell at *Munſter*; aſſuring them of ten times as much as they did forego. Hereby the City began to be repleniſhed with ſtrangers of that Faction, inſomuch as moſt of the wealthy and grave Citizens, fearing whereunto it might tend, abandoned the City, and left it to the *Anabaptiſts*, and to the reſt of the common ſort. Thus becoming Maſters of the place, they by and by put out all the old *Senators* or *Counſellors* of that Eſtate, and the two *Conſuls* (being the chief Magiſtrates) and put others in their places, and namely, they called *Knipperdoling* to be one of their *Conſuls*. Then they fell to burn, riſle and deface the Churches, and in plumps went through the ſtreets, crying, *Repent, repent*; and immediately after, *Avoid all ye wicked, upon peril of your lives.* Whereupon all the *Anabaptiſts* put themſelves in Arms, and (according to their Proclamation) drove out of the City, all whom they ſuppoſed not to be of their Sect, without regard either of age or ſex. Inſomuch as divers women with child, through the great throng and their over-haſty departing, pitifully miſcarried.

Munſter is filled with Strangers, the Citizens through fear forſake it.

The Magiſtrates put out; Knipperdoling made Conſul.

This

This baniſhing and proſcription happened the very day before the *Biſhop* of the City, being alſo Temporal Lord thereof, planted his Siege againſt the Town for revolting from his Obedience. In the midſt of all theſe Outrages, ſundry (calling themſelves *Prophets*) did ariſe up amongſt them; who pretended to have *extraordinary* callings, gifts, functions, and revelations from God; the chief whereof was one *John Matthew*, next to him was the ſaid *John* of *Leyden*, and then *Knipperdoling*, *Crecthing* and ſome others. This *Matthew* (their principal *Prophet*) charged every man (upon pain of death) to bring all his gold, ſilver, and moveable goods into a great common ſtore-houſe appointed for that purpoſe, to the end they might be uſed and beſtowed in common; for ſo he proteſted to them, it was the will of his heavenly Father. The people were greatly grieved with this rigorous Edict; nevertheleſs they obeyed, though ſore againſt their wills. Neither was it poſſible (without great danger) for any to conceal or hide any part from them, becauſe there were in the City two Girls, ſoothſayers, that did reveal whatſoever was concealed, at leaſt ſo it was believed. Then the ſaid *Matthew* commanded every one to bring all his Books whatſoever (ſaving the *holy Bible*) to be publickly burned, which was accordingly performed. Thus taking great confidence and boldneſs that his heſtes and advices were ſo readily obeyed,

The Biſhop Beſieges the City.

John Matthew, John *of* Leyden, Knipperdoling, *&c. aroſe as Prophets.*

Matthew *Commands the People to bring their goods into Common.*

They affrighted, obey.

He commands all Books to be burnt but the Bible.

ed, and had ſo good ſucceſs; he moſt inſolently and cruelly thruſt in with a Pike, and after ſhot in with a Harquebuz one *Hubert Truteling*, only for a merry jeſt that he made, touching one of their Prophets. Yet ſeeing that he did not die thereof out of hand, the ſaid *Prophet* told them, it was revealed to him from heaven, that *Truteteling* ſhould live, and continue, and that God had forgiven him. Nevertheleſs, he died of his wounds within few days after. Then *Matthew* got into his hand a long Pike; and running haſtily therewith through the Town towards the Gates, he proclaimed as he went, that God the Father had commanded him to beat back all the enemies (that beſieged them) from the Town. But being met near the Camp, by one only ſouldier, he was by him thruſt through, and ſo died. And albeit the falſehood of his forged propheſies was thus twice detected, yet the other Prophets (his companions) did ſo diſguiſe the matter, and bewitch the people, that they could not perceive his coggeries, but did rather much lament his death, as a matter ominating ſome great miſhap towards them, for that ſo excellent a man was taken away. Yet *John* of *Leyden* comforted them, ſaying, that God had revealed unto him long before, that *Matthew* ſhould have ſuch an end, and that he ſhould marry his widow. Some few days after, *Knipperdoling* alſo propheſied, *that high mountains ſhould be brought low, and the*

He murders Hub. Truteling.

He is ſlain by a Souldier.

John *of* Leyden *and* Knipperdoling *comfort the People and Prophecy.*

the poor and mean ſhould be exalted; and thereupon commanded all which was left ſtanding of the Churches to be demoliſhed even with the ground; aſſuring them (and that with a conſtant ſetled gravity and great earneſtneſs) that this Commandment came from God himſelf: And in further accompliſhment (as may ſeem) of ſuch his propheſy, *John* of *Leyden* gave to the ſaid *Knipperdoling* the ſword of execution, and ſo made him the common Hangman of the City, that immediately afore was *Conſul* and chief Officer. This office of Executioner (belike upon compact between them) he willingly accepted, and obeyed *Leyden* therein, as the meſſenger of God. Now after that ſome aſſaults had been made againſt the City, by the Biſhops Army beſieging it, (albeit with no ſucceſs) *John* of *Leyden* laid him down to reſt, and dreamed three days together. Being awaked, he ſpake not a word to any perſon, but calling for paper, writ down the names of twelve men (whereof ſome were indeed Gentlemen of blood) who ſhould have the ſovereign charge of all, and ſhould govern the City, as the heads of the Tribes did in *Iſrael*: for ſo he ſaid, it was the heavenly Father's will. But hereby (in very truth) he laid the foundation of a kingdom, whereunto he aſpired. Then he propounded unto their Reformed Preachers, certain Articles to be reſolved in by the Scriptures alone, by which, if they could not confute them, then he would (as

Command the Churches to be demoliſhed.

John *of* Leyden *gives* Knipperdoling *the ſword of Execution.*

John *of* Leyden *dreams three days together.*

He awakes and names Twelve men to govern the City.

He propounds certain articles to the Preachers.

he ſaid) put them up unto the people, that by their authority they might be eſtabliſh'd. The effect of them was, that a man was not bound unto one wife, but might marry ſo many as himſelf luſted. When their Preachers made ſome difficulty, and ſticking at it, he called them into the *Council-houſe*, together with the Twelve new *Governors* or *Elders*. Then he put off his Coat and laid it and the New Teſtament down together afore them, ſwearing by thoſe two (as by aſſured tokens) that the Articles by him propoſed, were revealed unto him from Heaven, and that God would never be merciful unto them, if they did not yield unto them. Hereupon they gave their aſſents, and after (for three days together) they preached of nothing but of Marriage. Then *Leyden* married three Wives: one whereof was the Widow of their great Prophet *Matthew* lately deceaſed, and divers other followed the like example, as if it had been a matter moſt allowable and laudable. But ſome of the Citizens (of better diſpoſition) finding this courſe to be moſt abominable, gave a watch-word through the Town for all that truly favoured the Goſpel without fantaſtical Novelties, to come into the Market-place, where being aſſembled, they apprehended *Leyden*, *Knipperdoling*, and all the reſt of their *Prophets*. But when the Common people were advertiſed hereof, they ſtraightway took Arms, and reſcued the Priſoners from them. The people alſo laid hands

One was about Bigamy:

They boggle.

He ſwears it is from God.

They aſſent.

He marries three Wives.

Others follow his example.

Some Citizens abhorring the Practice, ſeize the Prophets.

The People reſcue them and ſlay 50 of the Citizens.

hands on them, which had apprehended their *Prophets*, putting them to death with moſt exquiſite torments; namely, they faſtened fifty of them unto Trees, and ſhot at them with Harquebuzes, their great Prophet (all the while) crying thus unto them, That he that would do God good ſervice, ſhould firſt ſhoot at them; and others were put unto ſundry other ſeveral kinds of death.

A Goldſmith. A New Prophet ariſeth and declares from God John *of* Leyden *to be Emperor of the Earth, and the Godly only muſt rule.*

In the Month of *July* that year, a new Prophet (being a Goldſmith by his Trade) did ariſe up among them; who having called the Multitude together into the Market-ſteed, ſignified unto them, It was the Will and Commandment of the heavenly Father, that *John* of *Leyden* ſhould be *Emperor* of all the Earth; and that he marching forth with a puiſſant Army, ſhould deſtroy all Kings and Princes, but ſhould ſpare the Common people that loved righteouſneſs and ſincerity, to the intent he may hold the ſeat of *David* his Father, until the heavenly Father ſhould receive again the Kingdom: For (ſaid he) Godly men muſt only rule in the World, after they have once diſpatched all the wicked out of the way. When the *Prophet* had ended theſe Speeches, ſuddenly *John* of *Leyden* kneeled down, and lifting up his hands to Heaven, ſaid thus: *Brethren, it is a good while agone ſince I firſt knew this, and yet would not hitherto publiſh it abroad: but now the Father hath uſed another Miniſter to bring it to paſs and to proclaim it.* So having (by this ſub-

John *of* Leyden *pretends he knew this before.*

tilty) compaſſed to be King, he firſt depoſed the Twelve *Governors*, and after the manner of other Kings, did chuſe and create ſundry to be great Lords about him: He alſo cauſed two Crowns of pure Gold to be made for himſelf, and a Royal Robe, Coller and Scepter, with other Complements of Majeſty. He aſſigned alſo certain days, wherein he would give Audience to all Complainants and Suters. Whenſoever he came abroad, he was attended with his Officers and Gentlemen of his Court, and with two young Henchmen on horſeback, the one on his right-hand carrying the *Bible*, and the other on his left, carrying a drawn Sword. He had alſo a magnifical Throne prepared and ſet on high for him, with a golden Cloth of Eſtate. At a certain time, when the King was thus ſet in his Majeſty, and the people thronged cloſe together about him, *Knipperdoling*, one of the Prophets, got upon the peoples heads, and ſo creeping along on his hands and feet, he breathed upon them in their mouths one after another, ſaying thus: *The Father hath ſanctified thee, receive the Holy Ghoſt.* Certain Weeks after, the new Prophet (afore mention'd) cauſed (by ſound of a Trumpet) to be proclaimed, That all ſhould retire themſelves in Arms unto the Church yard of the chief Church, for that the Enemy muſt be repelled from the Town. Coming thither, they found a great Supper ready prepared. Then there ſate down to Supper (as they were

He depoſeth the 12 Governors.

He creates Lords, and wears the Robes of Majeſty, and aſcends a Throne.

Knipperdoling *pretends to breathe the Holy Ghoſt on the People.*

The New Prophet ſummons the People to Arms.

Five thouſand of them entertained at a Supper.

were commanded) four thouſand: and after theſe had ſupped, one thouſand more (that had waited) ſate down. The *King* alſo, and the chief *Queen*, together with their Courtiers did ſerve at table. The ſupper being towards an end, the King gave bread unto every one of them, ſaying, *Take, eat, and ſhew forth the Lord's death.* Then the *Queen* preſented them with the cup, ſaying, *Drink, and ſhew forth the Lord's death.* This being done, the ſaid Prophet got him up into a pulpit, and asked them if they would obey the word of the Lord? which when they had yielded unto that they would, he ſaid it was the *Father*'s commandment, that eight and twenty *Doctors* or *Teachers* ſhould be ſent forth into all the corners of the world, to teach the doctrine that was taught and received in that City. Then he named them all, and the particular place whither each of them ſhould go. So after all was done, they let the ſaid eight and twenty Preachers out of the town by night very cloſely, for fear of thoſe without, who beſieged them: giving to every one (above that which ſhould defray his charges) one piece of gold, and commanding them to leave it at ſuch places where their doctrine ſhould not be received, for a teſtimony of ſuch peoples damnation, and everlaſting perdition, for refuſing ſuch meſſage and wholeſome doctrine. When thoſe Preachers were come to the places aſſigned unto them, they cried in the ſtreets

The King and Queen ſerve at Table.

They prophanely give them the Communion.

28 *Teachers ſent forth.*

They preach Repentance, Community of Goods and the univerſal Reign of Righteouſneſs, brought to paſs by King John *of* Leyden.

of the Towns where they came, *Repent, repent, or elſe you ſhall all quickly periſh.* Then they ſpread their garments on the ground before the Magiſtrates, and upon them they laid the pieces of Gold which were afore delivered unto them, aſſuring them, and proteſting that they were ſent from the heavenly Father, to bring them peace and mercy: and if they would receive it, then they muſt give up all their Goods to be uſed in common: but if they refuſed it, then that ſign and token ſhould be a witneſs againſt them of ingratitude and rebellion againſt God. For (ſaid they) now is the time come that was ſpoken of afore by the *Prophets*, in which Righteouſneſs ſhall reign in the Earth univerſally; and when the *King* (meaning *John* of *Leyden*) hath brought to paſs, that Righteouſneſs ſhall rule in every place, then *Chriſt* ſhall give up his Kingdom to his Father. But theſe Preachers being hereupon apprehended, they reſolutely ſtood in it, and defended, that they only held the true doctrine, which they would maintain upon peril of their lives. Being asked, with what juſtice they could enter upon, and poſſeſs other men's Wives, Children and Goods as they did? they ſaid, The time was come foreſpoken of by *Chriſt*, that *the meek ſhould poſſeſs the earth*, and that God gave theſe unto them, as he did give the Goods of the *Egyptians* unto the *Iſraelites*. They affirmed alſo, that King *David* and *John* of *Leyden* were two righteous Prophets; but the *Pope* and

The Preachers apprehended, they defend their wicked Practices with Scripture falſly applied.

and *Luther* were both falſe Prophets; whereof *Luther* was the worſe. Thus ſtill perſiſting obſtinate in their erroneous Opinions, (notwithſtanding the Tortures which they endured) they were all beheaded, ſaving one of them that eſcaped away by flight. Whileſt theſe things were thus in doing within and abroad, the City of *Munſter* was every day more and more ſtraitly beſieged, and preſſed with extreme famine; ſo that for fear leſt many the chief *Burgers* ſhould capitulate with the Enemy, and yield the *King* up unto the *Biſhop*; their *King* therefore did chuſe Twelve, whom he held moſt faithful unto him, and appointed them to be Captains of War over ſo many ſeveral Parts of the Town, into which he did quarter it; entertaining the ſaid Twelve perſons with Mountains of large Promiſes, and telling them over what great Provinces and Dominions under him he would after place them. Thus the Famine ſtill more and more encreaſing in the City (ſo that ſundry died thereof, albeit the *King* had abundance for himſelf and his ſpecial Favourites, not only for ſupply of neceſſity, but alſo to riot and banquet) it happened, that one of his *Queens*, in commiſeration of the diſtreſſed, ſaid unto the reſt, That ſhe could not believe it was the Will of God, that men ſhould in that ſort be ſuffered to die for want of food. Hereupon being accuſed, ſhe was brought into the Market-place; and being commanded to kneel down, the

One of them eſcaped, all the Reſt put to death.

A Famine increaſeth in the City.

King ſtruck off her Head; all the reſt of his *Queens* ſinging, dancing, and giving thanks therefore to the *heavenly Father*. But whenas the common fort had like to have mutined, by reaſon of the extremity of Famine, their *King* promiſed them aſſured deliverance from God before *Eaſter*. When *Eaſter* was come, no ſign or token of their deliverance appeared. Then the King feigned himſelf to be ſick for ſix days: afterward (aſſembling the people into the Market-ſteed) he told them, that all that while he had ridden upon a blind Aſs, and that *the Father* had laid upon him the ſins of the whole Multitude, ſo that now they were cleanſed and freed from all Vice; which was the Deliverance which he promiſed unto them, and therewith they were to hold themſelves contented. When the *Biſhop*'s Strength, by common Supplies from the *Princes* of the *Empire* were much reenforced, matters (in the Town) grew to that Extremity, that by means of two Perſons (who conveyed themſelves ſecretly forth of the Town) it was at laſt ſurprized by the Aſſailants, though with much ado and Bloodſhed, even after they were entred. Their *King*, with *Knipperdoling* and *Crecliting*, their two falſe Prophets, were taken alive: But *Rotman* their *Reformed Preacher* (ſeeing no hope to eſcape) deſperately ran in amongſt the thickeſt of the Armed Companies, and by them he was cut in pieces. The three Perſons aforenamed were carried about the Countrey, as a Spectacle to ſundry the

The King promiſeth them Deliverance before Eaſter.

It not coming, he fains himſelf ſick, and puts a Cheat upon them.

The City is ſurprized.

The King, Knipperdoling, *and* Crecliting *taken alive.*

Rotman *is ſlain.*

the *Princes* and others thereabouts, and after were brought back again unto *Munſter*. The *Biſhop* of *Munſter* demanded of the *King*, by what Authority he took upon him to rule in that City? Who asked the ſaid *Biſhop* again, by what Authority he the ſaid *Biſhop* claimed any Power there? When he anſwered, that he had it by means of Election of the *Chapter*, and by Conſent of the People, the *King* replying, ſaid, That himſelf had his Authority from God. After two days had been beſtowed with them, to reduce them (by godly Perſuaſions) from their Errors, *Leyden* their *King* confeſſed his Sin, and deſired Forgiveneſs at *Chriſt*'s hands. But *Knipperdoling* and *Crecliting* would confeſs no fault, but defended their courſe and Opinions with great Obſtinacy. So all Three being tied unto Poſts, were diſmembred by piece-meal, and pulled in ſmall pieces with hot burning Pincers and Tongs, and afterward their Carkaſſes were hanged up there in Iron Cages; but the *King* in the midſt, and much higher than the other two, as his Place required.

Leyden *repents.*

Knipperdoling *and* Crecliting *are obſtinate.*

They are all three executed.

Beſides certain eſpecial Opinions which theſe *Anabaptiſts* held, namely, *That Young Children were not to be baptized*; and *touching Lawfulneſs of Poligamy, or having many Wives*: *Of Community of Goods*; and that *Chriſt took not Fleſh of the Virgin* Mary, *&c.* they alſo taught and defended many other ſtrange, erroneous, and heretical Poſitions: And yet hey t

Some of their Erroneous and Heretical Doctrines.

they ſhewed as much Devotion, outward Holineſs and Purity, as might be. As for example; they held theſe following; *viz. That a perfect Chriſtian might not exerciſe the Office of a Magiſtrate, nor might take an Oath before him. That God doth now oftentimes ſhew his Will by extraordinary Revelations, Dreams, and Viſions. That the common people have an eſpecial Authority in determining and eſtabliſhing of Church-cauſes. That before the day of Judgment the Kingdom of Chriſt ſhall be ſuch, as that the Godly and Elect ſhall overthrow and ſubdue all the wicked, and then they alone ſhall rule in the earth. That it is lawful for the People to depoſe and put down the Prince or Magiſtrate. That Miniſters and others godly affected, ought to eſtabliſh (though it were by Force) a Reformation in all Countries. That Princes and Magiſtrates ought not to purſue this kind of perſons, for that they are Innocents, and the beloved People of God. That the Seat of* David *which was fallen down muſt be reeſtabliſhed, and that Chriſt now in the latter end of the World ſhall reign externally upon the Earth. That the time of beſiege (they then lived in) was that whereof* Iſaiah *propheſied, wherein the juſt and godly were afflicted and perſecuted. That the time of their deliverance and enlargement was at hand; which ſhould be like to that deliverance of the* Iſraelites *from the Thraldom under the* Babylonians: *And that then the wicked and ungodly ſhall receive the guerdon and recompence of all their Impieties committed againſt the Saints, all the ungodly being rid out of the way, the ſeat of Righ-*

Righteouſneſs ſhould be prepared and advanced. That there is none efficacy or force in that Baptiſm wherewith Infants are baptized. All which they obſtinately defended; and yet (whenſoever they were charged) they pretended that *they would acknowledge and confeſs their Errors, if they ſhould be ſhewed unto them by the Scriptures, to be Errors.*

A compariſon of the Anabaptiſts *in* Munſter *with the* Diſciplinarians *in* England, *in Opinion and Practice.*

Now as I have done afore, in the Hiſtory of *Thomas Muncer*, I muſt crave leave, that with the Readers patience, I may alſo briefly compare and reſemble ſome of the Dealings and Errors of the *Anabaptiſts* of the City of *Munſter*, with the actions and opinions of theſe late Conſpirators, and of their *Diſciplinarian* Schoolmaſters, from whom they have ſucked like Poyſon.

For did not *Hacket* (the moſt ignorant of all the three, being but an unlettered Maltſter) in like ſort take upon him to rule the other, and to mannage the whole Action? and are not the moſt ignorant of ſuch as be of this humour, moſt preſumptuous to direct all others, and to diſcuſs deepeſt doubts? Have not their mutual cohortations, and ſeditious inſtructions, with their conceived Prayers, and hypocritical Faſts, (that they practiſed in privy conventicles, and aſſemblies) given greateſt ſtrength to his faction, to the ſeduction of numbers? Have not the Magiſtrates now as great cauſe to look into

to theſe proceedings, before they make head, upon confidence of their multitudes? Have not all the ſtayed and ſound Preachers of this Land by ſundry *Maleperts*, and now again by *Arthington*, been (moſt inſolently) challenged unto diſputation? Hath not the cauſe of this pretended *Diſcipline*, been nevertheleſs quaſhed (oftentimes) in Pulpits, in publick diſputations in the Univerſities, and by learned treatiſes written: whereby the weakneſs, and meagerneſs of their childiſh collections, have been fully diſplayed? Will they make any haſt, or dare they to offer diſputation, if ſuch conditions, aſſiſtants, and indifferent and learned Judges as are fit, ſhall be ſet down and appointed? and (being beaten from their ordinary means) have not theſe Conſpirators, and ſuch as have animated them, betaken themſelves unto pretended *extraordinary* Callings, raviſhings in Spirit, carryings into Heaven, Revelations, Dreams and Viſions? Have they not ſeditiouſly filled our Streets with their like hypocritical Outcries of *Repent, Repent*, &c. and by gathering of Routs, tending to Uproar and popular Tumult? If their purpoſes had ſucceeded, and their Prophecies of killing and maſſacring men (like Swine) in *London* Streets, had come to paſs, would the Outrages, in hainouſneſs, have come any whit behind thoſe of *Munſter*?

If this ſort of Perſons have been gratified with any indifferent Toleration, could their reſt-

reſtleſs buſy Heads (though they have promiſed otherwiſe) ceaſe to hammer, by long hand, and ſecretly, the bringing to full effect of their deſignments, *viz.* That they might govern in the Church with *Chriſt*'s Scepter, and adminiſter his Kingdom? For ſo they (blaſphemouſly) term *the Diſcipline*, which they have forged. Was not the diſplacing of her Majeſty's *Council* plotted by the Confederates, and had they not aſſigned other *Counſellors* in their rooms? Should thoſe whom themſelves had thus choſen and aſſigned, have remained long in place, if their *K. Hacket* had been once inveſted as fully and royally as *John of Leiden* was in *Munſter*? Would they not quickly have brought them down, as *Knipperdoling* was, from being *Conſul*, to the baſeſt room of account that might be? Would theſe (if they had prevailed) have ſpared (think ye) either Place, Age, or Sex; or ſhould Baniſhment only have ſerved? No: *Viſcera impiorum crudelia.* And did not *Hacket* take upon him to be as great a *Prophet* as *John Matthew*, or *John of Leyden*, his Succeſſor? And *Coppinger* the *Prophet of God's Mercy*, as high as *Knipperdoling*? And *Arthington* the *Prophet of Judgment*, and *Pen of a ready Writer*, as refined and excellent as *Crecliting* the Goldſmith? Had not theſe alſo appointed out *Wigginton* and *Lancaſter* to be their Aſſiſtants for a time, as it were their petty Prophets? Did they not pretend the Will of the *Heavenly Father* for every

moſt

moſt ungodly and abſurd Motion, Speech, or Action, as namely, for the defacing of her *Majeſty*'s Arms; and that ſhe ſhould not be pray'd for? Did not theſe pretend and feign to be in high favour with God, and that they could tell ſecrets, and things to come, merely contingent, and to be able to caſt out Devils, and to obtain Rain at pleaſure? Matters of as great difficulty and unlikelihood, as ſoothſaying and bewraying of things concealed. Did they not inveigh againſt the human Wiſdom (of divers of their own Judgment) whom they ſuppoſed not to be forward enough? And do not many of the *Diſciplinarian* Vein deſpiſe and condemn all helps of good Arts and Learning, as little leſs than impious, but ſpecially in Sermons? Was not *Matthew* the chief Prophet of *Munſter* his Fancy ſtronger and his Reſolution greater than theſe Conſpirators ſhewed in any part of their action; when he thought himſelf alone able to repel an whole Hoſt? And yet he was not therefore accounted furious, mad, or diſtracted of his Wits. Was not *Coppinger* likewiſe as deeply bewitched as the people of *Munſter*, when he could not perceive that *Hacket* did but dally with him about particular Intelligence of ſome Treaſons, ſuppoſed to be plotted by ſome Great Perſons? Had not theſe three, and this ſort of *Humouriſts*, as great Envy at old and *Cathedral* Churches and others, whenas they ſeek to procure their

their Overthrow? Did not *Coppinger* fancy to have had his *extraordinary* Callings and *Enlightnings* by Dreams in his Sleep? Had they not likewiſe appointed their Governors for matters of *Counſel*, and for other Civil Adminiſtration? Do not this kind of perſons alſo make ſhew of deſire to have all queſtions decided only by Scriptures? Doth not *the Diſcipline* give the chief and ſovereign allowance or diſallowance of all Eccleſiaſtical determinations, unto the whole Congregation? Did not theſe Conſpirators uſe (as means to be truſted, that God had revealed ſuch things unto them) Oaths and Execrations of Damnation and Confuſion to themſelves, as deeply as *John* of *Leyden* did, when he did ſwear by his Coat, and by the New Teſtament, touching the like Revelation? Did not *Hacket* their great *Prophet*, thirſt after, and threaten Revenge againſt ſome Great Perſons, who he thought did ſtand in his way? Did not *Coppinger* and *Arthington* proclaim in the Market-place of *Cheap*, and afterward defend, That *Hacket* was *King* and *Emperor* of all *Europe*, and that God had ſo appointed it? Did they not hold, That he, together with themſelves, ſhould go forth, and take Poſſeſſion of all his Kingdoms here and abroad; and ſubdue all Kings that would not hold their Scepters of him, and be governed by ſuch Laws and Orders as he ſhould appoint; and that he ſhould ſever with his Fan the good from the

the bad, ſo that they ſhould not trouble and afflict the Godly any more? Had not *Hacket* alſo his ſaid *Prophets* to proclaim him publickly *King* of *Europe*, as *John of Leyden* had the Goldſmith? Did not *Coppinger* (upon *Arthington*'s Advertiſement) with three moſt lowly Obeiſances, and with great Gravity, take upon him, and was ready to anoint and ſanctify *Hacket* with the Holy Ghoſt, but that (by a ſhift) he was put off? And as they of *Munſter* had their prophane and impious Celebration of the Communion, before they ſent forth their Twenty eight Preachers; in like manner, Had not theſe their Hypocritical Faſts and Prayers, promulgated and made known unto ſundry of their own diſpoſition, that they might join (either in Body or Spirit) with them, afore they enterprized any matter, or entred Conſultation of weight, or would aſſume their ſuppoſed *extraordinary* Callings? Do not theſe and all like affected to them, by their Teachers in every Corner, ſeek to win or perſuade as many to the liking of their Opinions, as poſſibly they can any way compaſs and hem in? Have they not alſo their ſet, empty, thundring Words, and ſolemn Obteſtations, to allure men to believe that which they teach? Did not the ſaid two *Engliſh Prophets* offer by their Proclamation great Mercy and Joys to them that ſhould believe or follow them; and infinite Woes and Damnation to thoſe that ſhould reject them?

them? Did they not ſignify, That the time was come for the eſtabliſhing the Goſpel and *Reformation* by their King *Hacker*; and therefore willed all true *Chriſtians* to be of good comfort, becauſe the Wicked ſhould be overthrown? Did they not engage their Lives, yea, and Souls, upon the Verity of the Meſſages that they publiſhed? And were they not a good while (after their Apprehenſion) very obſtinate and reſolute in their Fancies conceived? Was not *Coppinger's* Promiſes of ſpeedy Deliverance unto *Udall*, as confident and reſolute as *John of Leyden's* was unto the People of that City? Though the Event ſhewed, that at laſt all did but come to the *riding of a blind Aſs*? Did not *Hacket* likewiſe blaſphemouſly affirm, That by the whipping which *Pigge* bowed on him, he did ſuffer for the ſins of all Hypocrite Preachers, ſuch as favoured the *Diſcipline*, but were not ſo forward as he thought they ought to be? Was not the reſolution of one of theſe as lewd as *Rotman's* (who after all hope was paſt, ran amongſt the armed Companies) if he alſo did (as was ſaid) with like wilfulneſs refuſe to take any Suſtenance? Was not the deſperateneſs of *Hacket* alſo moſt horrible and fearful, whenas (ſeeing no Remedy but Death) he opened his mouth blaſphemouſly againſt Heaven, and againſt the *Majeſty* of the Eternal God?

And concerning certain opinions of the *Anabaptiſts*, do not many of the *Diſciplinarian* humour, come far nearer unto them than were to be wiſhed? for though they deny not the Civil Magiſtrates ſuperiority altogether, yet in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, though they admit it (in words) they allow unto him nothing elſe but execution of their Orders, without attributing any ſuperior preheminence of commandment in Church-cauſes, for reraining of good order, and of ſoundneſs of Doctrine in the Church. Likewiſe, though they take not the ſovereignty from the chief Magiſtrate in cauſes of the Common-wealth, do they not ſo abridge and bound his Authority in cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, that the very *Papiſts* do attribute as much in this behalf unto him, as they do? And albeit they will not abſolutely in judgment deny the lawfulneſs of an Oath before a Magiſtrate, yet if their ſundry and variable Poſitions in this point be marked, they do (in effect wholly) repeal the uſe of it. For do not ſome of them plainly refuſe to take an Oath, whereby they may be urged to diſcover any thing which may either be penal to themſelves, or to their *Chriſtian* Brother, and ſo in effect deny it altogether? Do not others of them refuſe to tell any thing that is criminal concerning any other perſon, though perhaps they will do it againſt themſelves, eſpecially when they think it is afore diſcovered

and

and known? Do not ſome of them refuſe an Oath ſimply, yea, and to anſwer (without Oath) either affirmatively or negatively, but do will their accuſers to ſtand forth. Do not others deny to take an Oath, except every particular queſtion be afore made known unto them? a matter impoſſible, becauſe ſundry Queſtions that ſhall be asked, do ariſe forth of the matter of the Anſwer? And do not ſundry of them (albeit they yield to detect by Oath both their own and others offences) yet deny to reveal any thing whereof they are asked, if themſelves be perſuaded the matter demanded of, be none offence? And ſo they do hang obedience to Laws, Allegiance and Duty of Subjects, upon every particular mans conceit, even as he by circumſtances, or his own fond perſuaſion, ſhall lift to meaſure matters. Do they not reſolutely hold, that *ſumma poteſtas*, the Chief and Sovereign Power in all Church-cauſes, belongs to a Presbytery, who though they may conſult, yet may not determine matter of any moment, without the allowance of the People? Had not theſe Conſpirators a like opinion to thoſe of *Munſter*, that the principal ſpirit of *Chriſt* (being in *Hacket*) he was come with his Fan to ſever and diſpatch out of the way all the wicked and ungodly, from the good and godly? Hath it not been ſet down by an *Engliſh* ſubject, and twice printed with ſingular allowance of the Engliſh *Arck-Prophet*

of discipline, for Sound and *Holy Divinity*, that it is God's ordinance, to have in every Kingdom certain chief Officers (like *Ephori* in *Lacedæmon*) who should have authority to depose Kings, though they come unto it by lawful Succession, if they shall judge them to be Tyrants? Did not *Wigginton* deliver for sound Doctrine, That if the *Magistrates* did not govern well, the people might draw themselves together, and to see a *Reformation*? Do not these kind of persons likewise slander the *Prince* and State, with persecution of the Saints, and of innocent men, because they are a little restrained from running on in their Seditious courses? Did not these Conspirators also hold, That now in these latter times, *Christ* by his principal spirit (imparted unto *Hacket*) should reign and erect an external kingdom on earth, and in the world? And did they not fancy, that even at that time the Gospel with their *discipline*, should be universally established, and all the ungodly abolished? Do not all of the *Disciplinarian* Sect hold, that to the very being of Baptism (and without which, it is of no more force in any case, than the Nurses washing) it is required, that it be administred by a lawful Minister? thereby derogating, not only from the true Baptism of Thousands, but also of all whomsoever that were Baptized by Popish Sacrificing Priests themselves, and from all that have received Baptism of such as were Baptized

tized by them? whereupon muſt needs follow neceſſity of *Rebaptization*, or elſe that it were lawful to neglect and contemn that Sacrament, and high Myſtery of our Salvation. Laſtly, Do they not make great ſhews, and many pretences, for all their unſound and abſurd Opinions, that they are taken from the holy and ſacred written word of God? which by this means they make to be of private interpretation, and do not reduce their ſenſes unto it, when they read, but do wickedly captivate the Scripture unto their own ſenſes and meanings? even as (in this behalf) *Coppinger* or *Arthington* did firſt take upon them an *extraordinary* calling, and were afterwards charged by *Hacket* to read over the whole *Bible*, there to find an approbation of it.

Scripturas ad ſuum non ſuum ſenſum ad Scripturas adducunt.

God of his infinite mercy forgive, and turn the hearts of all that trouble his Church, from running well, or that impugne his Ordinance, and ſuch as are ſet over them: and reſtrain, or root out all Phantaſtical Errors and Fanatical ſpirits, which the envious man (from time to time) doth ſow among the good Wheat: that holding the unity of the ſpirit in the bond of peace, we may all meet together (in the unity of faith, and knowledg of the Son of God) unto a perfect man, and unto the meaſure of the age of the fulneſs of Chriſt, and ſo ſpeedily and joyfully meet him our Bridegroom in the Clouds, with our heads lifted up, and full of Comfort, and ſo reign

with him for ever, through the same Jesus Christ *our Lord; To whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, one Eternal, Immortal, Invisible, and only wise God, be all Honour, Praise, Glory, and Dominion, now and for ever. Amen.*

FINIS.

Books Sold by R. Chiswell.

DAngerous Positions and Proceedings, published and Practised within this Island of *Britain*, under pretence of Reformation; and for the Presbyterial Discipline. Written in 1593. by Dr. *Richard Bancroft*, afterwards Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*. 4°.

——— His Survey of the pretended Holy Discipline, Containing an Historical Narration of the Beginnings, Success, Parts, Proceedings, Authority and Doctrine of it; with some of the Manifold and Material Repugnancies, Varieties and Uncertainties in that behalf: Faithfully gathered out of the Writings of the Principal Favourers of that Platform. Written 1593. 4°.

An Apology for Sundry Proceedings, by Jurisdiction Ecclesiastical, in 3 Parts. Written 1593. By *Richard Cosin* L. L. D. Dean of the Arches, and Official Principal to Archbishop *Whitgift*. 4°.

The Sum of a Conference held by King *James* the First, at *Hampton-Court*. 1603. with the Bishops and Clergy, and some Chief of the Puritan Ministers, about sundry Church-Matters. 4°.

Mr. *Richard Hooker's* Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, in 8 Books. Fol.

Books

Books Printed for R. Chiſwell.

SCRIPTORUM ECCLESIASTICORUM, Hiſtoria Literaria facili & perſpicua methodo digeſta, in 2 Vol. Fol. *Authore* GUL. CAVE, S. T. P.

——His Primitive Chriſtianity. 5. Edit. 8°.

——His Diſſertation concerning the Government of the Ancient Church by Biſhops, Metropolitans and Patriarchs. 8°.

Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*'s Conference with *Pulton* the Jeſuit.

——His Nine Sermons on ſeveral Occaſions.

Seven Volumes of Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*'s Sermons; Publiſh'd from the Originals by Dr. *Barker*.

——Vol. 1ſt. of Sincerity and Conſtancy in the Faith, and Profeſſion of the true Religion.

——Vol. 2d and 3d On ſeveral Occaſions.

——Vol. 4th Of Natural and Inſtituted Religion, *&c.*

——Vol. 5th Proving Jeſus to be the Meſſias, *&c.*

——Vol. 6th & 7th Volumes upon the Attributes of God.

Ten Sermons on ſeveral Occaſions, by Biſhop *Patrick*.

——His Hearts Eaſe, or Remedy againſt all Troubles. The 7th Edition. 1699.

——His Commentary on *Geneſis*, *Exodus*, *Leviticus*, and *Numbers*, in 4 Vol.

——His Commentary on *Deuteronomy*, juſt now Publiſhed. 1700.

Valentine's Private Devotions. The 26th Edition. 1699.

Wharton's Sermons in *Lambeth*-Chappel, in 2 Vol. 8°. with his Life.

Dr. *Canant*'s Sermons, in 2. Vol. 8°. Publiſh'd by Biſhop *Williams*.

Dr. *Wake* of Preparation for Death. The 6th Edition. 1699.

Dr. *Fryer*'s Nine years Travels into *India* and *Perſia*, Illuſtrated with Copper Plates. Fol. 1698.

Biſhop

Biſhop *Williams*, Of the Lawfulneſs of Worſhipping God by the Common Prayer. With ſeveral other Diſcourſes.

Mr. *Tully's* Diſcourſe of the Government of the Thoughts, the 3d. Edition, 12°. 1699.

The Life of *Henry Chichele*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, In which there is a particular Relation of many Remarkable Paſſages in the Reigns of *Henry* V. and VI. Kings of *England*: Written in Latin by *Arthur Duck*, L. L. D. Chancellor of the Diocels of *London*, and Advocate of the Court of Honour; Now made Engliſh, and a Table of Contents annexed. 8°. 1699.

The Judgment of the Ancient Jewiſh Church againſt the *Unitarians*, in the Controverſy upon the Holy Trinity, and the Divinity of our Bleſſed Saviour. With a Table of Matters, and a Table of Texts of Scripture occaſionally explained. By *Peter Allix*, D D.

Short Memorials of *Thomas* Lord *Fairfax*, Written by Himſelf. Publiſhed, 1699.

An Expoſition of the 39 Articles of the Church of *England*, by Dr. *Burnet* Biſhop of *Sarum*. Fol. 1700.

The Life of *John Whitgift* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in the times of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James* I. Written by Sir *Geo. Paul*, Comptroler of his Grace's Houſhold. To which is annexed a Treatiſe intituled, Conſpiracy for pretended Reformation, Written in the year 1593. by *Richard Cosin* L. L. D. Dean of the Arches, and Official Principal to Archbiſhop *Whitgift*. 8°. 1699.

In the Preſs.

The *Fourth* and *Laſt Part* of Mr. *RUSHWORTH's* Hiſtorical Collections. Containing the Principal Matters which happen'd from the Beginning of the Year 1645. (*where the Third Part ended*) to the Death of King *Charles* the Firſt, 1648. Impartially Related: Setting forth only Matter of Fact in Order of Time, without Obſervation or Reflection. *Fitted for the Preſs in his Life-time.* To which will be added, *Exact Alphabetical Tables.*